



NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL

MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA

THESIS

**GENDER EQUALITY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: A
COMPARATIVE STUDY OF INDONESIA AND THE
PHILIPPINES**

by

Cassandra E. Hauser

September 2017

Thesis Advisor:
Second Reader:

Naazneen H. Barma
Tristan J. Mabry

Approved for public release. Distribution is unlimited.

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE			<i>Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188</i>	
Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instruction, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302, and to the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reduction Project (0704-0188) Washington, DC 20503.				
1. AGENCY USE ONLY (Leave blank)		2. REPORT DATE September 2017		3. REPORT TYPE AND DATES COVERED Master's thesis
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE GENDER EQUALITY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF INDONESIA AND THE PHILIPPINES			5. FUNDING NUMBERS	
6. AUTHOR(S) Cassandra E. Hauser				
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, CA 93943-5000			8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING /MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) N/A			10. SPONSORING / MONITORING AGENCY REPORT NUMBER	
11. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES The views expressed in this thesis are those of the author and do not reflect the official policy or position of the Department of Defense or the U.S. Government. IRB Protocol number ____N/A____.				
12a. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for public release. Distribution is unlimited.			12b. DISTRIBUTION CODE	
13. ABSTRACT (maximum 200 words) This thesis is a comparative study of how three important factors—social, political, and economic inclusion—affect gender equality and inequality in the Philippines and in Indonesia. The disparity between these two countries as published in the 2016 Global Gender Gap Report serves as the analytical basis for this comparison. On this scale, which assigns a number from 0 (gender inequality) to 1 (gender equality), the Philippines ranks in the top five percent of the 144 countries assessed for gender equality, with a score of 0.786 (7 of 144), whereas Indonesia ranks in the lower half with a score of 0.682 (88 of 144). The two countries share similarities on this issue: their respective women's movements began within a decade of one another, and the first female presidents of each country were seen as moral figures who could facilitate the transition to working democracy. Yet these countries also differ in terms of majority religion and population size. A major finding of this thesis is that the women's movements in the Philippines and in Indonesia were more productive in advancing the women's agenda than female leaders, although for different reasons. This thesis concludes by reflecting on main findings and providing policy recommendations and suggestions for future research.				
14. SUBJECT TERMS gender equality, women's agenda, economic, political, social inclusion, Indonesia, Philippines			15. NUMBER OF PAGES 107	
			16. PRICE CODE	
17. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF REPORT Unclassified	18. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE Unclassified	19. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF ABSTRACT Unclassified	20. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT UU	

NSN 7540-01-280-5500

Standard Form 298 (Rev. 2-89)
Prescribed by ANSI Std. Z39-18

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

Approved for public release. Distribution is unlimited.

**GENDER EQUALITY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF
INDONESIA AND THE PHILIPPINES**

Cassandra E. Hauser
Lieutenant, United States Navy
B.S., West Virginia University, 2009

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

**MASTER OF ARTS IN SECURITY STUDIES
(FAR EAST, SOUTHEAST ASIA, THE PACIFIC)**

from the

**NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL
September 2017**

Approved by: Naazneen H. Barma
Thesis Advisor

Tristan J. Mabry
Second Reader

Mohammed H. Hafez
Chair, Department of National Security Affairs

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a comparative study of how three important factors—social, political, and economic inclusion—affect gender equality and inequality in the Philippines and in Indonesia. The disparity between these two countries as published in the 2016 Global Gender Gap Report serves as the analytical basis for this comparison. On this scale, which assigns a number from 0 (gender inequality) to 1 (gender equality), the Philippines ranks in the top five percent of the 144 countries assessed for gender equality, with a score of 0.786 (7 of 144), whereas Indonesia ranks in the lower half with a score of 0.682 (88 of 144). The two countries share similarities on this issue: their respective women’s movements began within a decade of one another, and the first female presidents of each country were seen as moral figures who could facilitate the transition to working democracy. Yet these countries also differ in terms of majority religion and population size. A major finding of this thesis is that the women’s movements in the Philippines and in Indonesia were more productive in advancing the women’s agenda than female leaders, although for different reasons. This thesis concludes by reflecting on main findings and providing policy recommendations and suggestions for future research.

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	INTRODUCTION.....	1
A.	MAJOR RESEARCH QUESTION.....	1
B.	SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH QUESTION.....	1
C.	LITERATURE REVIEW	2
1.	Gender Inequality on a Global Scale	3
2.	An Initial Look at Gender Inclusion in Indonesia and the Philippines	6
3.	The Relationship between Gender Equality and Economic and Political Development.....	9
4.	Potential Causal Factors.....	13
5.	Female Heads of State in the Philippines and Indonesia.....	16
D.	POTENTIAL EXPLANATIONS AND HYPOTHESIS.....	19
E.	RESEARCH DESIGN	19
F.	THESIS OVERVIEW	20
 II.	 ADVANCEMENTS IN GENDER EQUALITY: THE PHILIPPINES	 21
A.	SOCIAL INCLUSION OF WOMEN IN THE PHILIPPINES	21
B.	THE MARCOS REGIME.....	23
C.	THE FORMATION OF THE WOMEN’S MOVEMENT	24
D.	WOMEN IN THE LABOR FORCE	29
E.	CORAZON AQUINO’S PRESIDENCY AND THE WOMEN’S AGENDA	30
1.	The Political System in the Philippines after Martial Law	33
2.	Women’s Political Parties in the Philippines.....	35
3.	Policies Focusing on the Women’s Agenda under Aquino.....	36
4.	Transitioning after Aquino	40
F.	GLORIA MACAPAGAL-ARROYO’S PRESIDENCY AND THE WOMEN’S AGENDA.....	41
1.	Advancements in Women’s Rights under Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo.....	42
2.	Policies Focusing on the Women’s Agenda under Arroyo.....	43
G.	GENDER EQUALITY TODAY IN THE PHILIPPINES	45
1.	Economic Empowerment of Women.....	45
2.	Political Participation of Women	48
3.	Violence against Women	50

III.	ADVANCEMENTS IN GENDER EQUALITY: INDONESIA	53
A.	SOCIAL INCLUSION OF WOMEN IN INDONESIA	53
B.	INDONESIA COLONIALIZATION AND POLITICS UNDER SUKARNO.....	55
C.	THE FORMATION OF THE WOMEN’S MOVEMENT	56
D.	POLITICS UNDER SUHARTO	57
E.	THE REFORMATION OF THE WOMEN’S MOVEMENT	60
F.	MEGAWATI SUKARNOPUTRI’S PRESIDENCY AND THE WOMEN’S AGENDA	62
G.	GENDER EQUALITY TODAY IN INDONESIA	66
	1. Economic Empowerment of Women.....	67
	2. Political Participation of Women	69
	3. Violence against Women	70
IV.	CONCLUSION	73
A.	MAIN FINDINGS	74
B.	POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS	76
C.	IMPLICATIONS	77
	LIST OF REFERENCES	81
	INITIAL DISTRIBUTION LIST	89

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.	Change in Global Gender Inequality: Five Educational Indicators	5
Figure 2.	Change in Global Gender Inequality: Four Other Welfare Indicators	5
Figure 3.	Proportion of Seats Held by Women in Parliament in the Philippines and Indonesia 2000–2016.....	9
Figure 4.	Female Empowerment and Economic Development across Countries.....	11
Figure 5.	Female Leaders across the Globe	12
Figure 6.	Global Gender Gap Report for the Philippines 2016	22
Figure 7.	Philippines Political Party in Control during each Presidency.....	35
Figure 8.	Philippines GDP (Current US\$) 1980–2016	39
Figure 9.	Philippines Government Budget Deficit 1988–2000	40
Figure 10.	Distribution of Women’s Employment by Occupation in the Philippines, 2011	46
Figure 11.	Employment Indicators in the Philippines, 2011	47
Figure 12.	Economic Leadership for Women in the Philippines, 2016.....	48
Figure 13.	Number of Elected Positions in Congress, by Sex: 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013, 2016	49
Figure 14.	Total Number of Elected Positions, by Position and Sex, in the Philippines: 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013, 2016	50
Figure 15.	Global Gender Gap Report for the Indonesia 2016.....	54
Figure 16.	Female Share of Employment by Occupation 2011	68
Figure 17.	Economic Leadership for Women in Indonesia 2016	69
Figure 18.	House of Regional Representatives (DPRD)—Indonesian Provinces with the Highest Number of MPs 2009	70

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.	Comparison of Indonesia and the Philippines from the Global Gender Gap Report 2016.....	7
Table 2.	Women in National Parliaments.....	8
Table 3.	Biographical Data of The Philippines and Indonesia's Political Leaders	17
Table 4.	Female Relative Earnings in Selected Countries and their Change over Time (Percentage)	30

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CATW-AP	Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, Asia-Pacific
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
EO	Executive Order
FDI	Foreign Direct Investments
FLFP	Female Labor Force Participation
GABRIELA	General Assembly Binding Women Against Marcos
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measure
GNP	Gross National Product
ICCPR	International Convent on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Convent on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
KAIBA	Kababaihan Para sa Inang Bayan (All women's political party in the Philippines)
KALAYAAN	League of Women for Liberation, Philippines
KMK	Kilusan ng Manggagwawang Kababaihan, Philippine Worker's Movement
KP	Kommas Perempuan (National Commission on Violence Against Women)
LAKAS	Lakas ng Tao-National Christian Democrats Political Party
LAMMP	Laban ng Makabayang Masang Pilpino Political Party
LDP	Laban ng Demokratikong Pilpino Political Party
LP	Liberal Party, Philippines
MAKIBAKA	Free Women's Movement in the Philippines
MP	Members of Parliament
NOW	National Organization of Women
NP	Nationalista Party
NPC	Nationalist People's Coalition

OEC	Omnibus Election Code
OHCR	Office of the High Commissioner
OPA	Overseas Performing Artists
PDI	Indonesia Democratic Party
PERWARI	Unity of Women of Republic of Indonesia
PILIPINA	The Women's Collective, Philippines
PKI	Indonesian Communist Party
PMP	Partido ng Masang Pilipino
PPP	Partai Per Stauang Pembangunan Indonesian Political Party
POPCOM	Commission of Population
RHAN	Reproductive Health Advocacy Network
SIP	Suara Ibu Peduli (Indonesian Women's Organization)
TIPR	Trafficking in Persons Report (U.S. Department of State)
UNESCO	United Nations, Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
WARE	Women for Action and Reconciliation
WAV	Women Against Violence
WOMB	Women for the Ouster of Marcos and Boycott
WTO	World Trade Organization

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First off, I must thank my advisors, Professors Naazneen Barma and Tristan Mabry, who have made this thesis possible. Dr. Barma has been extremely influential during my time at Naval Postgraduate School and I feel humbled that she was able to take the time to help and collaborate with me through the thesis process. In 2017 alone, she published the book *The Peacebuilding Puzzle: Political Order in Post-conflict States* through Cambridge University Press, officially became a United States citizen, received tenure at Naval Postgraduate School alongside another influential professor, Dr. Zachary Shore, and welcomed a baby boy into her family! There must have been much celebration and cake over this past year, and I cannot wait to see what 2018 brings! If ever someone needs an example for excellence, Dr. Barma certainly stands out. Thank you so much for being a captivating teacher, providing constructive criticism, holding me to a higher standard, and giving positive reinforcement when I needed to push myself. Thank you!

In addition, I must thank Dr. Mabry for also collaborating with me on my thesis. Dr. Mabry's specialty in identity politics in southeast Asia has been pertinent to the two case studies I conducted, and I cannot thank him enough for his support, and for teaching me how to approach analytical research. His efficiency in replying to all of my last-minute requests has been amazing. Thank you!

Thank you to Vice Admiral James G. Foggo, United States Navy, for setting the example to the highest standard during my time working for U.S. Sixth Fleet Command in Naples, Italy. His position as Commander, Sixth Fleet, showed me the importance of effective leadership while at the same time knowing and recognizing the people under your command who work the hardest. His leadership style set the example I try to follow throughout my military career and in life.

Thank you to my first Commanding Officer of the USS *Truxtun* (DDG-103), Captain John Ferguson. His guidance, calm attitude in extremely stressful moment-by-moment decision-making situations, and direction during my first few years in the Navy

shaped me into the officer I am today. I have learned so much from him, even during the hardest moments when I really screwed up, and for that I am grateful.

Thank you to Rick Kirik, United States Marine Corps, retired, who was my first point of contact when I was considering a military career and who got me in touch with the right people to receive a commission. I am humbled that he was able to fly all the way to Newport, Rhode Island, to commission me into the Navy.

I'd also like to thank Megan Teachout and Dr. Elizabeth Sunseri. These are two of my closest confidants, my best friends. They are both extremely smart women with whom I have had the privilege of collaborating often, who make me proud of where I come from, who share many of my happiest memories, and upon whom I can depend with unfailing certainty at any moment in time.

Finally, I would like to thank my family. I would like to thank my sisters, Lenise Hauser and Emmeline Marshala, for being there for me my whole life. We can laugh about anything, anywhere, anytime, and I'm so glad I got to grow up with you two as my siblings!

To my father and mother, Robert and Jackie Hauser, you have provided me with all that I needed in life to succeed, and you have given up so much to teach and raise me in a loving home. I could not be more grateful for your guidance and presence in my life. I love you guys!

I. INTRODUCTION

A. MAJOR RESEARCH QUESTION

This thesis researches, analyzes, and discusses women's equality in Indonesia and the Philippines. It is a comparative study of these two countries, examining the current status of women's economic, political, and social inclusion in both Indonesia and the Philippines, seeking to understand what factors contribute to these outcomes. Both of these countries have had female leaders, and one major question this thesis will answer is how the advancements in women's rights made by female leaders are conditioned by other economic, political, and social factors, and if policies implemented may have targeted gender equality through similar factors. In summing up statistical and analytic findings, this thesis will also provide recommendations on how to enhance women's equality in these countries, as well as throughout the world.

B. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH QUESTION

This thesis reviews the status of women's economic, political, and social inclusion in Southeast Asia through a comparative case study of Indonesia and the Philippines. These two countries are located in Southeast Asia and are both archipelagoes, yet they differ greatly on the bases of culture and religion: Indonesia is predominately Muslim (87.2 percent), whereas the Philippines is predominately Catholic (82.9 percent).¹ Both countries have had female presidents, however: Corazon Aquino (1986-1992) and Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo (2001-2010) were presidents in the Philippines, and Megawati Sukarnoputri was the President of Indonesia from 2001-2004.

Since 2006, the year the Global Gender Gap Report was first published, the Philippines has continuously been ranked in the top ten for global gender equality.² The World Economic Forum is the organization that conducts the yearly Global Gender Gap Report, and is a non-profit foundation established in 1971 that "strives in all its efforts to

¹ "The Global Gender Gap Report 2016," World Economic Forum, <https://www.weforum.org/reports/the-global-gender-gap-report-2016>.

² Ibid.

demonstrate entrepreneurship in the global interest while upholding the highest standards of governance.”³ The Global Gender Gap report assesses over 140 countries across the globe in order to, “quantify the magnitude of gender disparities and track their progress over time, with a specific focus on the relative gaps between women and men across four key areas: health, education, economy and politics.”⁴ Each country is assessed and assigned a number from 0 (gender inequality) to 1 (gender equality), which signifies where they fall on the gender equality scale.⁵ In 2016, the Philippines was ranked number seven, while Indonesia has remained ranked in the 80s, currently at number 88 out of 144 countries assessed.⁶ There have also been women’s social movements, orchestrated unions, and policies implemented in the Philippines starting in the early 1970s that allowed women to successfully petition for equal rights earlier than other countries, and also successfully continue the movement.⁷ By understanding the women’s movement in each country and their contributions toward gender equality, an assessment can be made whether it was the women’s movements that became the primary catalyst behind women’s advancements, or if the implementation of policies by each female president while in office can be credited with advancing women’s equality.

C. LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to provide global context around the proposed comparative study, this literature review begins with a section focused on gender inclusion on a global scale. The first section explains the basis for global gender inequality and how this is calculated, and discusses the correlation between women’s rights and both economic development and politics. In the second section, this literature review looks at women in politics and how some female leaders contribute to gender inclusion and promote equality, while others do not, implying that female political power is not a requirement for or basis of gender

³ “Our Mission.” World Economic Forum, September 27, 2017, <https://www.weforum.org/about/world-economic-forum>.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ “The Global Gender Gap Report 2016.”

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Rebecca E. Lozada, *Women Strategizing Justice: Women’s Resource Book on Gender Justice* (Quezon City, Philippines: Philippine Coalition for the International Criminal Court, 2008), 9–10.

equality. The third section focuses specifically on the comparison at the heart of the study, providing statistical data for both Indonesia and the Philippines. This data highlights similarities and differences in gender equality between the two countries. The final section delves into the case studies of female leaders from both Indonesia and the Philippines.

For the purposes of this research, political inclusion is defined as “the art or science concerned with winning and holding control over a government and guiding or influencing governmental policy.”⁸ Economics is defined through women’s participation in the economy through the workforce, as well as gender inclusion through skilled and managerial positions and rates of business ownership. This statistical data will be used to analyze and identify gender inclusion in the economy for both countries. Social inclusion is defined using the World Bank definition, which is “the process of improving the terms on which individuals and groups take part in society—improving the ability, opportunity, and dignity of those disadvantaged based on their identity.”⁹

1. Gender Inequality on a Global Scale

As of 2016, gender inequality is present worldwide, and a continued dialogue needs to occur to promote changes in this area on a global scale. Currently, less than 23 percent of all parliamentary seats worldwide are held by women, while two-thirds of illiterate adults (11 of 17 percent globally) are women.¹⁰ The first step in understanding this problem is to understand how gender inequality is determined. Milanovic presents three concepts for inequality in his book *Worlds Apart: Measuring International and Global Inequality*. These concepts include unweighted international inequality, population-weighted inequality, and inequality calculated across individuals or “true

⁸ “Politics,” Merriam-Webster Dictionary, July 14, 2017, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/politics>.

⁹ “Social Inclusion,” The World Bank, September 7, 2017, <http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/socialdevelopment/brief/social-inclusion>.

¹⁰ “Education,” United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/education-building-blocks/literacy/resources/statistics>.

world inequality.”¹¹ Global gender inequality is calculated assuming a country’s population consists of 50 percent females and 50 percent males, and occurs when there is a deviation from this 50 percent share to females in women’s participation in various key areas.¹² Using Milanovic’s method, Dorius and Firebaugh in an article entitled, *Trends in Global Inequality*, derived an equation to determine gender inequality on the global scale. First, they determined the equation for gender inequality for each country, at which point a new equation was derived to determine global gender inequality.¹³ Global gender inequality was calculated across nine arenas—years of schooling completed, adult literacy, primary, secondary, and tertiary school enrollment, participation in national legislatures, income, economically active workers, and adult survival.

The assessment was conducted in over 134 countries, and the results are shown in Figures 1 and 2. As seen in Figure 1, there is a decline in global gender inequality across all five educational indicators with a slight increase in years of schooling completed in 1990. All five indicators in Figure 1 show a decrease in global gender inequality by the year 2000, which means the pursuit of equal education for women and men continues to show positive progress. Tertiary school enrollment reached full equality by the year 2000, meaning acceptance into tertiary schools has the most gender equality out of the five education indicators. In contrast, as can be seen in Figure 2, women holding positions in national legislature remains globally unequal, with a score of .69 in 2005. Income levels also display a high level of gender inequality globally, while women have slowly become more economically active over time.

¹¹ Branko Milanović, *Worlds Apart: Measuring International and Global Inequality* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 16.

¹² Shawn F. Dorius and Glenn Firebaugh. "Trends in Global Gender Inequality." *Social Forces* 88, no. 5 (July 2010): 1942.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 1944.

Figure 1. Change in Global Gender Inequality: Five Educational Indicators¹⁴

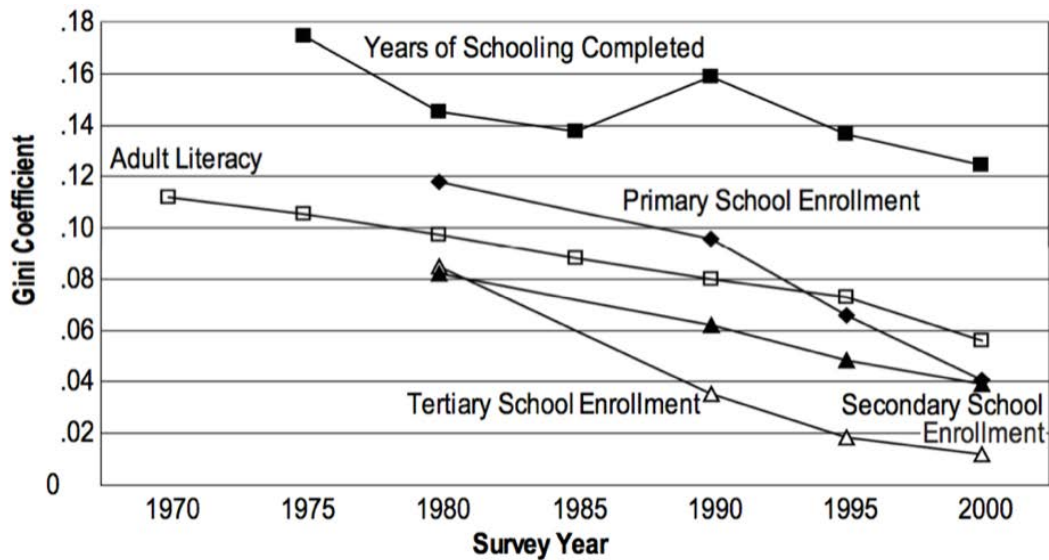
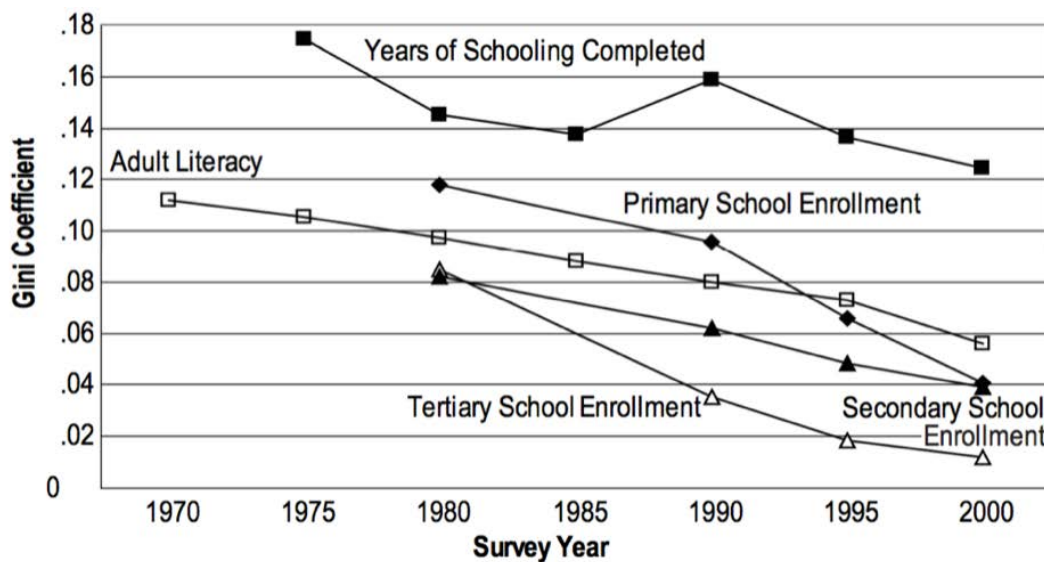


Figure 2. Change in Global Gender Inequality: Four Other Welfare Indicators¹⁵



¹⁴ Dorius and Firebaugh, 1953.

¹⁵ Source: Shawn F. Dorius and Glenn Firebaugh. "Trends in Global Gender Inequality." *Social Forces* 88, no. 5 (July 2010): 1953, as adapted from Milanovic (2005).

2. An Initial Look at Gender Inclusion in Indonesia and the Philippines

The Gender Gap Report of 2016 provides relevant data for both the Philippines and Indonesian comparison studies because it “quantifies the magnitude of gender-based disparities and tracks their progress over time.”¹⁶ The report then uses the collected data to provide a “clear method for tracking gaps on critical indicators so that countries may set priorities within their own economic, political, and cultural contexts.”¹⁷ As presented in Table 1, in 2016, the Philippines scored in the top ten countries for gender equality at number 7 of 144 countries (4.86 percent).¹⁸ Indonesia ranks at number 88 (61 percent), and has consistently remained ranked in the low 80s since 2006 when the Global Gender Gap Report was created.¹⁹ Both of these countries have had female heads of state, which merits asking what other factors might have led to the Philippines ranking higher for gender equality than Indonesia. For the purposes of this literature review, women’s equality will be defined using three factors—social inclusion, economic inclusion, and political inclusion.

Overall statistics for both Indonesia and the Philippines, are shown in Table 1, providing some insight into the above factors for women’s equality in these two countries. Females comprise 52.2 percent of the labor force in the Philippines and make \$2,500 less annually than males. In Indonesia, women in the labor force are also at 52 percent, similar to the Philippines; however, women make \$7,200 less annually than men. Could this be because females work in lower-ranked jobs in Indonesia, or is it because they work in the same job fields but receive less pay compared to males? A further look into the labor force of Indonesia is required in order to answer the proposed questions sufficiently.

¹⁶ “The Global Gender Gap Report 2016.”

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

Table 1. Comparison of Indonesia and the Philippines from the Global Gender Gap Report 2016²⁰

Data Assessed for Each Country	Philippines	Indonesia
Rank out of 144 Countries analyzed in this report	7	88
Gender Inequality Gini Coefficient	0.786	0.682
Female Heads of State to Date	2	1
Year Women Allowed to Vote	1937	1937 Europeans only 1945 all citizens
Average Annual Salary for Females	\$5,691.34	\$6,843.67
Average Annual Salary for Males	\$8,223.32	\$14,139.08
Percentage of Females in the Labor Force	52.27%	52.73%
Percentage of Males in the Labor Force	80.70%	85.93%
Literacy Rate Female	97.03%	93.82%
Literacy Rate Male	96.20%	97.06%
Maternity Leave	60 Days	90 Days
Paternity Leave	7 Days	2 Days
Life Expectancy Female	63 Years	64 Years
Life Expectancy Male	57 Years	61 Years

Note: “Female” and “Male” values are percentage rates for the corresponding indicator. Percentage rates have been rounded for reporting purposes.²¹

Statistically, women hold less than 23 percent of parliamentary seats worldwide.²² Within that global demographic, where do Indonesia and the Philippines fall? As seen in Table 2, the number of parliamentary seats available per country is listed,

²⁰ Adapted from “Global Gender Gap Report of 2016” World Economic Forum.

²¹ “The Global Gender Gap Report 2016.”

²² “Proportion of Seats Held by Women in National Parliaments (%) Data,” The World Bank, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SG.GEN.PARL.ZS>.

as well as the percentage of women holding seats after each election. After the Philippines's 2016 election, women held 87 of 292 seats in parliament (29.8 percent), which is relatively high compared to other countries located in the Pacific; only New Zealand (with 32.2 percent) and East Timor (with 38.5 percent) outrank the Philippines on the number of women serving in parliament as of 2012.²³ An understanding of the electoral system and the factors affecting the chances of women gaining seats in parliament is important in future research.

Table 2. Women in National Parliaments²⁴

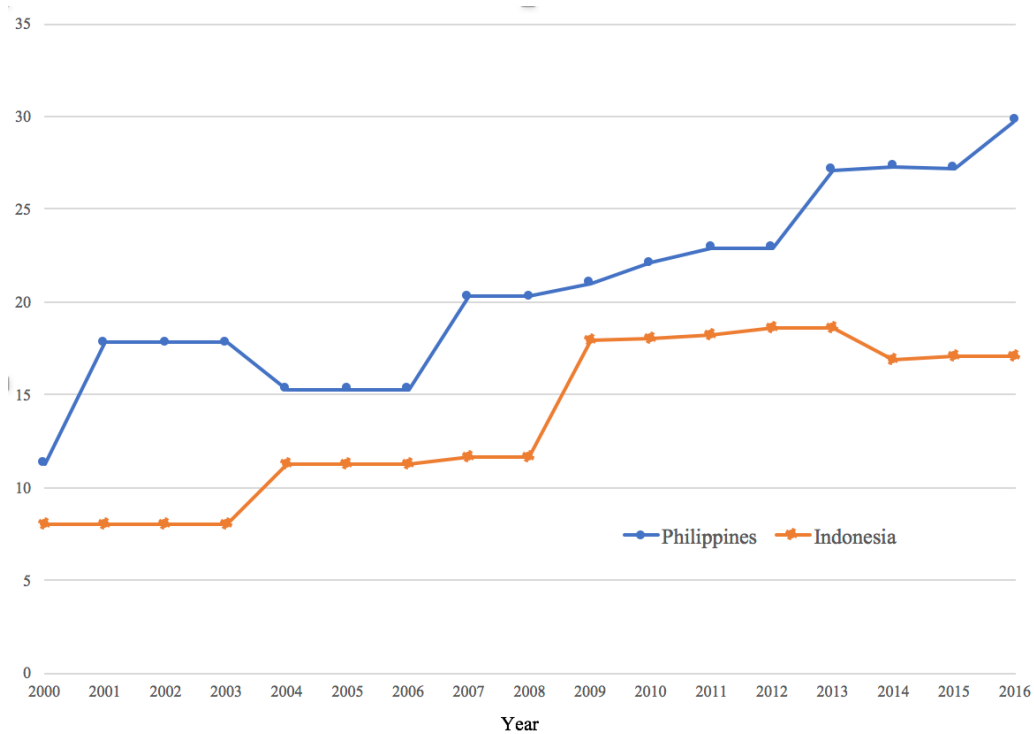
Country	Last Election	# of Seats	Women Seat Holders in the Lower Single House	Percent Total	# of Seats	Women Seat Holders in the Upper Single House	Percent Total
Philippines	May 9, 2016	292	87	29.8%	24	6	25%
Indonesia	May 9, 2015	555	95	17.1%			
Philippines	May 1995	203	22	10.8%			
Indonesia	June 1992	500	63	12.6%			

In addition, displayed in Figure 3 is the percentage of women in parliament in the Philippines and Indonesia between 2000 and 2016. This data shows an increase in the percentage rate of women holding seats in parliament over time, but holding 87 of 292 seats after elections is still statistically low. This data also shows a steady increase of women holding seats in parliament in Indonesia at 95 of 555 seats as of 2015, although the percentage is even lower than in the Philippines and there was a 2.3 percent drop between 2013 and 2014.

²³ "Proportion of Seats Held by Women in National Parliaments."

²⁴ Adapted from "World Classification," Inter-Parliamentary Union, <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>.

Figure 3. Proportion of Seats Held by Women in Parliament in the Philippines and Indonesia 2000–2016²⁵



3. The Relationship between Gender Equality and Economic and Political Development

The United States and England share similar stories when it comes to women's rights, specifically in the stages through which women's rights were attained. The first stage began with basic economic rights, followed by political rights, then equal treatment in the labor market, and finally greater control over their own bodies.²⁶ In less-developed regions, such as Africa, women first gained political rights before obtaining economic rights.²⁷ In addition, Doepke, Tertilt, and Voena presented research in an article titled, *The Economics and Politics of Women's Rights*, which showed that empowering women

²⁵ Adapted from "Proportion of Seats Held by Women in National Parliaments," The World Bank.

²⁶ Matthais Doepke, Michele Tertilt, and Alessandra Voena, "The Economics and Politics of Women's Rights," *Annual Review of Economics* 4, no. 1 (December 2012): 340.

²⁷ Doepke, 341.

leads to faster human capital accumulation, and illustrated how men are more prone to empower women to provide rights, safety, and security for their daughters.²⁸ The authors have also concluded that once women gain more rights, human capital will continue to accelerate, implying political change positively reinforces economic development.²⁹

Increased gender equality is positively correlated with economic development and political change and increased gender equality because these factors are correlative. The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) is displayed in Figure 4 against the gross domestic product (GDP) of each country. The results indicate that economic development and women's rights are mutually enforcing trends. The GEM is an index constructed by the United Nations Development Programme, and measures "inequality between men's and women's opportunities, combining measures of inequality in political participation and decision making, in economic participation and decision making, and in power over economic resources."³⁰ In the last GEM report conducted in 2012, the Philippines ranked at 0.539 on a scale of 0 to 1, and the GEM for Indonesia was not applicable because the country was not assessed in the 2012 report.³¹ Comparatively, Southeast Asian countries tend to rank at 0.5 or lower.

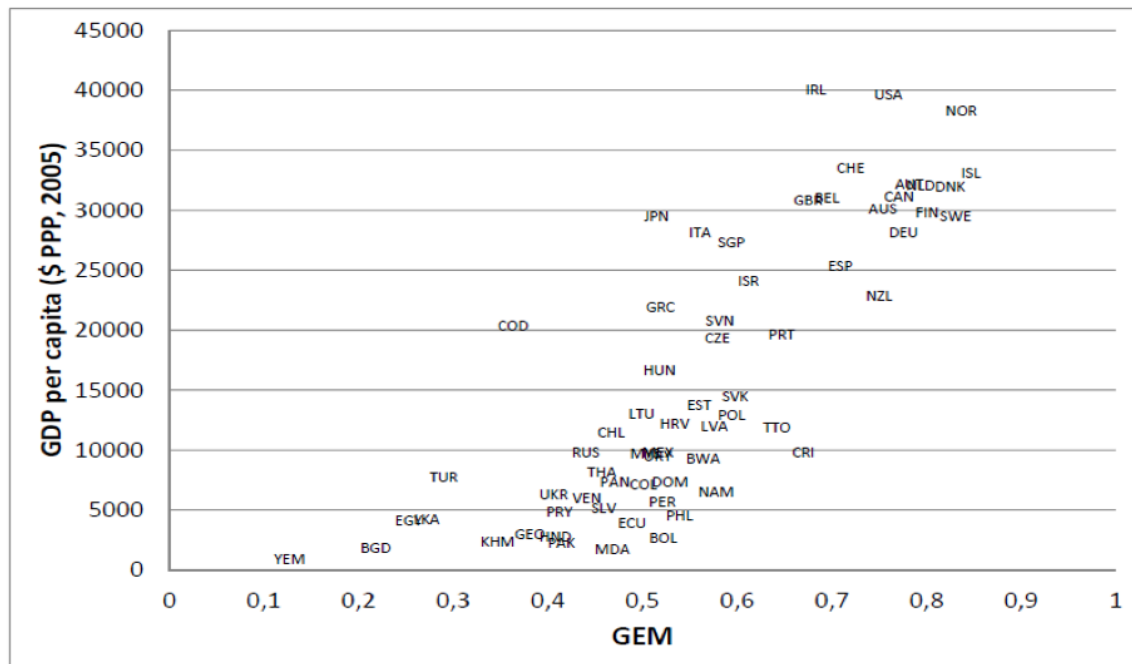
²⁸ Ibid., 342.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid., 361.

³¹ Ibid., 364, 366.

Figure 4. Female Empowerment and Economic Development across Countries³²



Focusing on political development, it is worth noting the extent to which females hold or have held positions of power. As can be seen in Figure 5, there have been only 64 female heads of state in the past 50 years, and of the 142 countries assessed in the 2014 Global Gender Gap Report, only 23 countries have had a female leader for more than five years during this time period.³³ Three of those countries are located in Asia—India, Bangladesh, and the Philippines. Notably, also seen in Figure 5, of the only 64 female heads of state total throughout the world since 1964, ten of those female leaders were from Asia (15 percent).³⁴ The book *Dynasties and Female Political Leaders in Asia* seeks to understand this question of why there have been so many female leaders in Asia, and they have tried to explain it. The authors surmise female leaders in the world

³² Dorius and Firebaugh, 1944.

³³ Abigail Geiger and Lauren Kent, “Number of Women Leaders around the World Has Grown, but They’re Still a Small Group,” Pew Research Center, March 8, 2017, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/03/08/women-leaders-around-the-world/>.

³⁴ Ibid.

are a rarity because of traditional views across cultures: beliefs that women are primarily supposed to be dutiful mothers to their children and wives to their husbands, are apolitical in nature, and do not have the toughness required to lead because of duties to family.³⁵ The difference in political dynasties is that leaders are often chosen because of the family name, which is more important than the individual's gender. If that means placing a woman in a position of power to maintain peace within the dynasty and prevent uprisings and coups, allowing the family name to continue its legacy, then the family name succeeds, even if that means electing a woman.³⁶

Figure 5. Female Leaders across the Globe³⁷



³⁵ Mark R. Thompson, "Presidents and the 'People Power' in the Philippines," in *Dynasties and Female Political Leaders in Asia: Gender, Power and Pedigree*, ed. Claudia Derichs and Mark R. Thompson (Berlin: Lit, 2013), 146; "Number of Women Leaders around the World Has Grown."

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 10–12.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

4. Potential Causal Factors

Having reviewed these socioeconomic indicators and parliamentary statistics, this introduction now turns to a brief description of how factors such as geography, colonial history, and post-independence political developments might influence gender equality. Spain colonized the Philippines in the late 1500s; then the United States gained control of the Philippines in late 1898, after defeating Spain in the Spanish-American war, and was also influenced by the Japanese during WWII. The Philippines claimed independence from the United States on July 4, 1946.³⁸ Geographically, the Philippines is made up of 7,107 islands, of which 2,000 are inhabited, and has over 22,548 miles of coastline.³⁹ Today, the population of the Philippines is approximately 102 million.⁴⁰ The dominant religion in the area is Christianity, with 82.9 percent of the population practicing Catholicism.⁴¹

Filipinos started fighting for workers' rights as early as the 1850s, when a secret society started the first documented labor movement in Asia, which became known as the Filipino Labor Movement.⁴² The labor movement continued, and in 1908, the Bureau of Labor formed to organize and legalize trade unionism across the country.⁴³ The formation of unions and social movements in support of worker's rights so early may have been a causal factor that led the Philippines to take the same approach in other areas, specifically gender equality.

By the 1970s, a point at which the Philippines had held independence for more than thirty years, a group of women arose that did not believe they were receiving equal worker's rights, and became known as the MAKIBAKA (Free Women's Movement).⁴⁴

³⁸ "The Global Gender Gap Report 2016."

³⁹ "The World Factbook: East and Southeast Asia: Philippines," Central Intelligence Agency, September 8, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/resources/the-world-factbook/geos/rp.html>.

⁴⁰ "The Global Gender Gap Report 2016."

⁴¹ "East and Southeast Asia: Philippines."

⁴² "A History of Trade Union in the Philippines, International Communist Current, March 10, 2014, <http://en.internationalism.org/internationalreview/201403/9534/history-trade-unionism-philippines>.

⁴³ "History of Trade Union."

⁴⁴ Lozada and Philippine Coalition for the International Criminal Court, 10.

During the martial law years under the Marcos regime, MAKIBAKA took their movement underground, but continued to flourish regardless.⁴⁵ Ninoy Aquino (Ferdinand Marcos's biggest political rival and the Philippines first female president, Corazon Aquino's, husband), was assassinated as he exited an airplane upon his return to Manila in 1983. Women's rights groups were outraged because many women were against the Marcos regime, and inferred the Marcos regime had something to do with the assassination. As a result, women began to organize and march through the streets of the city, alongside other disgruntled Filipinos, in peaceful protest.⁴⁶ This camaraderie jolted many of the women into increased action, and other women's groups such as GABRIELA (General Assembly Binding Women Against Marcos) were created.⁴⁷ Women's movements are still prevalent in the Philippines, and these groups continue to fight for gender justice, women's economic empowerment, and sexual and reproductive health rights.⁴⁸

Indonesia was colonized by the Dutch and claimed independence from colonial rule on August 17, 1945. Geographically, Indonesia has the longest coastline of any country spanning, 33,998 miles, and is comprised of 13,466 islands of which approximately 922 of those islands are inhabited, with a population of 258 million people.⁴⁹ In addition, Indonesia is also the largest archipelagic in the world. Indonesia also currently holds the largest Muslim population in the world with as many as 87.2 percent of Indonesia's 258 million population professing their faith to Islam, yet strict conformism to Islamic practices is not often seen in Indonesia.⁵⁰

The development of the Indonesian national identity, especially through the implementation of *Pancasila* by President Sukarno, suggests it may have been a limiting factor for the advancement of gender equality in the country. The five principles of

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Gregorio C. Borlaza and Carolina G. Hernandez, "Philippines," Encyclopedia Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Philippines>.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

Pancasila—belief in God, a just and civilized humanitarianism, national unity, Indonesian democracy through constitutional and consensus, and social justice—were issued in 1945 in an attempt to quell the centrifugal cultural diversity seen in the beginning stages of the Republic of Indonesia.⁵¹ Sukarno’s and later Suharto’s intentions were to unite Indonesia under one national identity, and in 1978 the government set up a required set of courses known as P4 courses, designed as an intensive program in ideological training, administered first at the bureaucratic level and working down to all citizens.⁵² In 1985, Suharto ordered that all “organizations must adopt Pancasila as their sole ideological and philosophical basis.”⁵³ This goal came at the expense of social, religious, and political organizations when it became national law to adopt Pancasila.⁵⁴

In 1983, women’s rights groups were forming together nonviolently in the Philippines. Just a year later, in September of 1984, there was a spike in street violence in Jakarta, Indonesia, when hundreds of youth attacked security forces in Northern Jakarta because they were enraged by mosque lectures given with Pancasila principles.⁵⁵ They felt these principles undermined the role of religion and chose to act out violently. In total, 28 people were killed during these street uprisings.⁵⁶ Although the Philippines and Indonesia have a similar geographic make-up, are located in the same region of the world, are categorized as developing countries, and have had female leaders, there are certain factors that lead to differences in gender equality outcomes. Factors such as diversity and culture in each country, the difference in religious preferences, and perceived national identity play a role in gender equality differences in both countries and require further research.

⁵¹ Douglas E. Ramage, *Politics in Indonesia : Democracy, Islam, and the Ideology of Tolerance*, Politics in Asia Series (New York: Routledge, 1995), i.

⁵² Donald E. Weatherbee, “Indonesia in 1984: Pacasila, Politics, and Power,” *Asian Survey* 25, no. 2 (1985): 188.

⁵³ Ramage, 3.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Weatherbee, 187.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 188.

5. Female Heads of State in the Philippines and Indonesia

The final part of this literature review briefly provides an overview of the female leaders of the Philippines and Indonesia, respectively. Two separate revolts brought the two female leaders of the Philippines to power, the first in 1986 when Corazon C. Aquino came into power unseating Ferdinand Marcos and moving the Philippines from authoritarian rule to democratic rule, and the second when Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo took power in 2001 during the second People's Power Movement.⁵⁷ When Aquino came into power, she was chosen over other opponents and even above family members, assuming the role of president. After her inauguration in February of 1986, her two rivals, the defense minister Juan Ponce Enrile, and Vice President Salvador Laurel, attempted a coup in the first four months of her presidency.⁵⁸ They spoke out publicly that, as a woman, Aquino should "reign not rule," and regularly attempted to make bids for power.⁵⁹ A revolt against the authoritarian regime in Indonesia after Suharto resigned from office brought his daughter Megawati Sukarnoputri into power in 2000. Table 3, an excerpt from Fleschenberg's book, *Women's Political Participation and Representation in Asia: Obstacles and Challenges*, contains biographical data for these three leaders to provide a short background and past political experiences prior to taking office.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Mark R. Thompson, "Presidents and 'People Power' in the Philippines: Corazon C. Aquino and Gloria Macapagal Arroyo," In *Dynasties and Female Political Leaders in Asia: Gender, Power, and Pedigree*, ed. Claudia Derichs and Mark R. Thompson, 151. (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2013), 168.

⁵⁸ Thompson, 153.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Andrea Fleschenberg, "Asian's Women Politicians at the Top: Roaring Tigresses or Tame Kittens?," in *Women's Political Participation and Representation in Asia: Obstacles and Challenges*, ed. Kazuki Iwanaga (Copenhagen Denmark: NIAS- Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, 2008), 32-33.

Table 3. Biographical Data of The Philippines and Indonesia's Political Leaders⁶¹

	Corazon Aquino (1986-1992)	Gloria Macapagal- Arroyo (2001-2010)	Megawati Sukarnoputri (2001-2004)
Country	Philippines	Philippines	Indonesia
Year Born	1933	1947	1947
Educational Level*	Medium	High	Low
Social Status**	High	High	High
Political Experience	None	High (C)***	Low (NC)***
Leadership Positions/terms	Positional**** President 1986-1992	Positional Senator 1992-98 Vice President 1998-2000 President 2001-2004 President 2004-2010	Positional Vice President 1999-2001 President 2001-2004 Party Leader
Leadership Type	Transform*****	Transact.*****	Transact.

*low: high school degree; medium: college or university degree (B.A., M.A.); high PhD, MBA, or higher, education abroad (foreign elite universities)

**high: socioeconomic elite background (wealthy, influential family), stemming from a political dynasty, through birth or marriage, where at least one of the family members held a high political office before

***conventional (C) non-conventional, (NC) political experience is classified into the following: (1) None, (2) low: political office held on local or provincial level, (3) medium: experience in national legislatures (lower/upper house) for at least one term, (4) high: experience in government cabinet or as head of state/government for at least one term.

****Positional: officially appointed or elected into a conventional political office within the ruling political regime

*****Transformational is defined as “having a vision of society, sets about doing something to implement that vision” and transactional leadership is defined as “merely operative trade-offs or exchange one advantage for another.

⁶¹ Adapted from “Asian’s Women Politicians at the Top,” 32–33. Fleschenberg also used these listed sources when creating the table this data was extracted from: ‘Dynasties and Female Political Leaders in Asia’. University Duisburg-Essen Institute for Political Science and Institute for East-Asia Area Studies: Online resource. BBC-British Broadcasting Corporation: Online resource. Jalalzai, Farida (2004) ‘Women Political Leaders. Past and Present’. In *Women & Politics*.

Aquino was tasked with maintaining the democracy that had propelled her to power in the first place, a task that became increasingly difficult, and ultimately collapsed while she was still in office. Arroyo, on the other hand, came into power because Ejercito Estrada, an allegedly corrupt and immoral actor-turned-president, was involved in multiple scandals that the public became privy to, negatively influencing his presidency.⁶² Although elected through democratic rule in the hope she might mitigate corruption at the presidential level, Arroyo also received multiple corruption allegations during her presidency.⁶³ Her rivals continuously attempted to oust her from the presidency, and on two occasions they tried to impeach her for rigging the 2004 elections in her favor.⁶⁴

Finally, the last piece of this literature review discusses Megawati Sukarnoputri, the first female president of Indonesia. Prior to being elected as Indonesia's fifth president, Megawati Sukarnoputri was also the face of an anti-regime opposition embodying hope and renewal that helped move the country from authoritarian rule to democratic rule in 1998.⁶⁵ She was highly revered prior to taking office, and was successful under the idea of *ibuism*—the Javan concept that a woman is able to serve unselfishly.⁶⁶ After she took office, she was able to help consolidate electoral democracy in Indonesia. Elections worked negatively in her favor when the citizens chose not to re-elect her for a second term. An in-depth analysis and case study of each president's successes, failures, and implemented policies are given in the following chapters.

⁶² Thompson, 156.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 175.

⁶⁵ Ricarda Gerlach, "'Mega' Expectations: Indonesia's Democratic Transition and First Female President," In *Dynasties and Female Political Leaders in Asia: Gender, Power, and Pedigree*, ed. Claudia Derichs and Mark R. Thompson (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2013), 247–249.

⁶⁶ Gerlach, 259.

D. POTENTIAL EXPLANATIONS AND HYPOTHESIS

This thesis seeks to gain an understanding of gender inclusion in Indonesia and the Philippines, and the factors leading to these outcomes. The hypothesis for this thesis centers on the balance between agency and structure: the extent to which female political leaders can make progress toward gender equality on their own, and how the move toward gender equality may be implemented through policies that target gender equality. The correlation between economic, political, and social development of a country and gender inclusion is important in understanding exactly how female political leaders influence gender equality in certain countries.

Understanding the impact of policies implemented targeting female equality by the female leaders of both countries will be important in determining how these policies or laws were executed, and how each leader's legacy has played out. A female leader who aspires to promote positive and just changes can do so, but without positive economic development, cultural inclusion, and political change, it becomes increasingly difficult.

E. RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design for this thesis is a comparative study between Indonesia and the Philippines, focusing specifically on how the advancements in women's rights made by female leaders are influenced by other factors such as economic, political, and social means. The two cases offer an analytical opportunity to employ Mills Method of Agreement to understand the gender equality outcomes achieved by female leaders in the Philippines and Indonesia, evaluate the policies targeting gender equality, and consider factors supporting or impeding those policies.

In order to conduct the comparative research, the thesis will include historical and statistical evidence from databases including those of International Labor Organization (ILO), the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and the World Economic Forum (which produced the Global Gender Gap Report of 2016). These data sets will be used in order to set a baseline for each country in the comparison study in order to gain insight and propose projected outcomes and

hypotheses. Other scholarly published books, electronic books, journal articles, and institutional research websites will also account for a majority of the sources used in this thesis. The resources proposed will help to set up the analytical framework for the thesis, and provide insight for the comparative study between Indonesia and the Philippines.

F. THESIS OVERVIEW

This thesis has four chapters. This introductory chapter, which states the main research question, outlines the goals of the thesis, delivers a literature review on global gender equality and some contextual background for both countries, and lays out the analytical framework for the thesis. Chapter II focuses on the advancement of gender equality in the Philippines through social, economic, and political factors, providing historical context to show how these factors have facilitated or impeded gender equality in the Philippines. Chapter II also includes the case studies of Corazon Aquino and Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, prior female presidents of the Philippines, analyzing how these presidents improved gender equality by the listed factors, and what policies they implemented while in office that were successful. Chapter III focuses on the advancement of gender equality in Indonesia, through the same factors as the Philippines, listed above, while also comparing the two countries. Chapter III also includes the case study of Megawati Sukarnoputri. Chapter IV is the conclusion chapter, summarizing the findings and implications from the three case studies, as offering potential policy implications and closing notes.

II. ADVANCEMENTS IN GENDER EQUALITY: THE PHILIPPINES

This chapter will focus on analyzing the three factors important to the advancement of gender equality—social inclusion, economic stability, and politics—and how these aspects have shaped women’s roles in the Philippines. The Philippines receives a high score for gender equality based on the Gini coefficient in the yearly Gender Gap Report. Yet statistics show that, even in 2016, women holding managerial positions, and women who participate in local and international politics, still rank at an overall lower percentage compared to men. In addition, women who work in the labor force do not receive the same amount of pay as men who work similar jobs. It also appears the only two female presidents of the Philippines did not focus on gender equality during their presidencies. Instead, the advancements of women’s rights in the Philippines have increased because women began fighting for their rights leading up to the People’s Revolution in 1986. These events propelled the women’s movement groups to further action, making them the catalysts for the advancement of women in the Philippines. A few of these groups are still active even today. This chapter begins with the current statistics of gender equality in the Philippines, and is set up chronologically beginning with the Ferdinand Marcos presidency and the relevance of his twenty-year dictatorship, transitioning into the Corazon Aquino case study, followed by the Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo case study.

A. SOCIAL INCLUSION OF WOMEN IN THE PHILIPPINES

The Gender Gap Report 2016 provides statistical data that summarizes the status of social inclusion of women cross-nationally. Figure 6 is the country score card from the Gender Gap Report for the Philippines. As was mentioned in the Introduction, the Philippines ranked 7 (0.786) out of 144 countries for global equality in the 2016 Gender Gap Report. By percentages, women in the Philippines are competitive to men in education and sex ratios, and even surpass men for life expectancy, but there are a few areas that still require progress for future successes in women’s equality. There is currently a disparity in the labor force for women, where women with advanced degrees

come in around 57 and men are at 71. As shown in Figure 6, 32 percent of women are not currently employed or receiving education, while the percentage of men is half that at 18 percent. This data provides some insight to overall outcomes which could be targeted to try to advance women's equality in the Philippines.

Figure 6. Global Gender Gap Report for the Philippines 2016⁶⁷



This chapter provides a historical timeline, analyzing political factors contributing to the social inclusion of women in the Philippines up to the present time. Politics in the Philippines combines the complicated legacies of colonialism with the challenges of democratic rule. Spanish colonialization began in 1565 and lasted until 1899, with the

⁶⁷ "Philippines," World Economic Forum, December 7, 2016, <http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2016/economies/#economy=PHL>.

Spanish putting in place a central government caste system.⁶⁸ At the conclusion of the Spanish American war in 1898, the annexation to the United States occurred through a treaty approved by the Senate, resulting in the Philippines becoming Asia's oldest republic (1898).⁶⁹ Three hundred years of colonization under Spanish rule in the Philippines proved to be a great hardship, as Filipinos continuously attempted to gain independence. The struggle continued during American occupation of the Philippines, and the Philippine-American war (occurring from 1899–1902), resulting in an American victory and continued occupation with Japanese influences.⁷⁰ On July 4, 1946, the Philippines gained independence with the signing of the “Treaty of General Relations between the Republic of the Philippines and the United States of America.”⁷¹ A working democracy was established, and the Nationalista Party (NP) and the Liberal Party (LP) became the two dominant parties of the Philippines.⁷² Once the Philippines gained its independence, it maintained the democracy put into place by the United States, until Ferdinand Marcos became president and converted the country to a dictatorship under authoritarian rule between 1965 and 1986.

B. THE MARCOS REGIME

Ferdinand Marcos assumed his position as president of the Philippines in 1965, and his allegedly corrupt practices would incite violent protests and rebellions, which would result in the removal of citizens' rights and the implementation of martial law during his second term as president. Some of this unrest was provoked because of continued American presence in the Philippines and Marcos' providing of Philippine troops to support the United States in the Vietnam War, although that decision was

⁶⁸ Borlaza.

⁶⁹ H. W. Brands, *Bound to Empire : The United States and the Philippines* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), vi.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ “Philippine Treaties: Treaty of General Relations Between the Republic of the Philippines and the United States of America,” CRLAW, May 24, 2017, <http://www.chanrobles.com/rpustreatyofgeneralrelations.htm#.Wc576WakuM8>.

⁷² Renato S. Velasco, “The Philippines,” in *Democracy, Governance, and Economic Performance: East and Southeast Asia*, ed. Ian Marsh, Jean Blondel, and Takashi Inoguchi (New York, NY: United Nations University Press, 1999), 170.

backed by \$80 million in American aid from President Lyndon B. Johnson.⁷³ When Marcos took the presidency, he inherited a national debt of \$600 million, which he inflated to \$1.9 billion by the end of his first term in 1969.⁷⁴ The elections leading to his second term were violent and marred by suspicions of election fraud.

By 1972, three years into his second term, Marcos began to dismantle the constitutional government put into place by the United States.⁷⁵ With widespread corruption, poverty among the population, and a lack of political discourse, a main reason Marcos implemented Martial Law could have been with the intention to stop a violent rebellion from occurring.⁷⁶ Proclamation number 1081, signed by Ferdinand Marcos on September 21, 1972, resulted in immediate political changes, which abolished Philippine democracy and limited the rights of the citizens. These changes included forced reassignment of over 500,000 employees and judges across industrial and agricultural courts, purges of the government and judiciary system, jailing and persecution of political opponents, restrictions on civic freedoms through curfews and foreign travel bans, and crackdowns on the media.⁷⁷

C. THE FORMATION OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The enactment of Martial Law incited continued protests, and these protests were a catalyst in continuing to push the women's movement, propelling women's groups to continue to fight for the rights of women and the re-establishment of democracy to the people. These new rules caused unrest as the citizens were forced to adapt restrictions on their rights. In addition, the 1970s and 1980s saw oil and debt crises in the Philippines, which further imposed economic and social hardship on the population. The authoritarian

⁷³ Brands, 284.

⁷⁴ Robert S. Dohner Jr., and Ponciano Intal, "External Debt and Debt Management," in *Developing Country Debt and Economic Performance, Volume 3: Case Studies—Indonesia, Korea, Philippines, Turkey*, ed. Jeffery D. Sachs and Susan M. Collins (Illinois: University of Chicago, 1989), 520.

⁷⁵ David A. Rosenberg, "Introduction: Creating a 'New Society,'" in *Marcos and the Martial Law in the Philippines*, ed. David A. Rosenberg (New York: Cornell University, 1979), 13.

⁷⁶ Robert E. Klitgaard, *Martial Law in the Philippines* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 1972), 1–4.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 4–7.

changes in the political structure served to alienate different women's groups within the systems.⁷⁸ During the Marcos dictatorship, other women's movement groups formed to combat the Marcos regime, and to fight for women's issues. These groups provided a space to collaborate and draw strength as they made an effort to create awareness to women's issues.

As mentioned in Chapter I, Filipinos started fighting for worker's rights as early as the 1850s, when they began a secret society and started the first documented labor movement in Asia, the Filipino Labor Movement.⁷⁹ In 1951, women attempted to establish the National Political Party of Women, but the attempt failed when other parties came into existence to support different presidential candidates.⁸⁰ The women's movement era began in 1970 in the Philippines with the establishment of Malayang Kilsun ng Bagong Kababihan (MAKIBAKA—Free Movement of New Women).⁸¹ The introduction of labor unions into the country could arguably have been a catalyst that allowed for the organization and support of other women's groups at other points in time. This is because a main goal of these groups was to disseminate the women's agenda and promote issue awareness, with the intent of starting a national conversation.

After Ferdinand Marcos' implementation of Martial Law in 1972, MAKIBAKA was forced underground as the Marcos regime removed many civic and political rights under authoritarian rule. However, they remained together and conducted meetings in secret during the Martial Law years, although members continued to flourish, and take a stand for women's rights when possible. After the establishment of MAKIBAKA, the 1980s continued to see women's groups in the Philippines emerge with the establishment of PILIPINA—the new Filipina in 1981 and KALAYANN The Women's Collective, Katipunan ng Kababaihan para sa Kalayaan—in 1983, followed by the first women's

⁷⁸ Velasco, 170.

⁷⁹ "A History of Trade Union in the Philippines."

⁸⁰ Lourdes Veneracion-Rallonza, "Women and the Democracy Project: A Feminist Take on Women's Political Participation in the Philippines," in *Women's Political Participation and Representation in Asia: Obstacles and Challenges*, ed. Kazuki Iwanaga (Copenhagen Denmark: NIAS- Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, 2008), 219.

⁸¹ Lozada and Philippine Coalition for the International Criminal Court., 10.

march organized and executed on October 28, 1983, which later facilitated the creation of (GABRIELA)—General assembly Binding Women Against Marcos, in 1984.⁸² The assassination of Ninoy Aquino on August 28, 1983, led to the formation of Women for Action and Reconciliation (WARE), the National Organization of Women (NOW) and Women for the Ouster of Marcus and Boycott [national elections] (WOMB) in response to the dictatorship, and to protest it.⁸³ These groups also brought women of varying social classes together, although predominately middle class, they recruited lower class women, and were willing to chance imprisonment, torture, and even death to support the cause.⁸⁴

These women's movements were based on the grassroots movement approach, and were designed as bottom-up organizations. In this case, women at the local level were able to assemble together and influence political and economic changes. This type of approach has the potential to prompt change even at the international level. One overarching goal spanned across all the groups, fighting as anti-dictatorship members supporting the restoration of democracy and citizens' rights. These groups achieved varying degrees of success in the fight for gender equality. PILIPINA focused on bringing forth gender issues in social development, and KALAYAAN's main goal was to provide a dialogue on behalf of women during the liberation movements.⁸⁵ The most prominent group, GABRIELA established objectives to focus on right after the group was created in 1984. Their main goals were to make the issues affecting Filipino women known, and portray women's roles in the current Philippine struggle under the Marcos regime to incite better treatment of women in the future, and join forces with the nation to seek justice and promote the re-installment of democracy.⁸⁶ A major achievement was

⁸² "Brief History of Filipino Women's Struggle for Participation in Politics," Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, September 27, 2017, <http://library.fes.de/fulltext/iez/01109004.htm>; "Lozada and Philippine Coalition for the International Criminal Court," 10.

⁸³ "Brief History of Filipino Women's Struggle."

⁸⁴ Mina Roces, *Women's Movements and the Filipina, 1986–2008* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2012), 13.

⁸⁵ "Brief History of Filipino Women's Struggle," 7.

⁸⁶ Belida A. Aquino, "Filipino Women and Political Engagement," *Review of Women's Studies* 4, no. 1 (1994): 40–41.

their ability to come together as women to fight for themselves and their country. They are still assembled and fighting for gender equality as of 2017.

During Martial Law, a number of women were arrested, tortured, and killed. An important figure at the time, Lorena Barros (MAKIBAKA), was one of them.⁸⁷ Lorena Barros, otherwise known as Laurie, was the co-founder of MAKIBAKA, arrested in 1973, imprisoned and tortured, succeeded in escaping, only to be killed in 1976 in a battle between the New People's Army who she was fighting for in her husband's stead, and the Marco's regime.⁸⁸ One of her famous quotes is, "The Filipino woman's place is in the struggle" [rather than "The Woman's place is in the home]."⁸⁹ The women's movements had an intention to change the previous vision of women in the country to a new vision where women fight for themselves, are seen as equals by their male counterparts, and promote human rights in the Philippines for all Filipinos. Laurie also was quoted saying, "The new woman, the new Filipina, is first and foremost a militant."⁹⁰ This was a new image and perception of women at the time, and one which the women's movements focused to promote. The Philippines was the first Asian country to achieve women's suffrage in September of 1937, or rather, it was decided in 1935 that woman would be granted suffrage in the Philippines before the law was passed two years later.⁹¹ The 1960s allowed for the momentum to build as women proclaimed themselves "feminists," and began fighting for increased rights, especially after the implementation of Martial Law when the majority of rights for all Philippine citizens were rescinded. Meanwhile, the fight for gender equality had already begun on the national front as early as 1946.

The United Nations Commission came together in 1946 to promote women's equality and resolve injustices explaining what it means to have equality as a woman. The United Nations Commission on the Status of Women formed with the signing of a

⁸⁷ Roces, 13.

⁸⁸ Coni K. Ledesma, "Women in Revolution: Maria Lorena Barros and Makibaka," National Democratic Front of the Philippines: International Information Office, March 23, 2015, <https://www.ndfp.org/women-in-revolution-maria-lorena-barros-and-makibaka/>.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Roces, 6.

charter in 1945 focusing on “legal measures to protect the human rights of women and awareness-raising on the status and situation of women around the world.”⁹² Through the years, other organizations formed such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). The International Human Rights Standards released by the United Nations focused on the CEDAW held in New York in December of 1979.⁹³

There are five sections including 30 articles laid out under the CEDAW. The first article lays out how the term “discrimination against women” is defined, stating it shall mean, “any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition... on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field.”⁹⁴ Now there was an international standard that spelled out what discrimination against women meant, allowing countries to measure themselves against this standard. The articles located within the CEDAW lay out all of the requirements for a country to be in compliance with the international standard for women’s rights. The Philippines signed the CEDAW on July 15, 1980, and the succession date was August 5, 1981.⁹⁵ Since the signing of the document, the Philippines have submitted six reports spanning from 1984 to 2006, and the latest comments will be provided at the end of this chapter in the “Gender Equality Today” section.⁹⁶

⁹² “The United Nations Commission on the Status of Women: 60 Years of Work for Equality, Development and Peace,” Division for the Advancement of Women: Department of Economic and Social Affairs, September 27, 2017, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/CSW60YRS/index.htm>.

⁹³ Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women New York, 18 December 1979,” United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner (OHCHR), December 18, 1979,, <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CEDAW.aspx>.

⁹⁴ “Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.”

⁹⁵ “Philippine Participation to Cedaw,” Philippine Commission on Women: National Machinery for Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment, September 2017, <http://pcw.gov.ph/international-commitments/cedaw/philippine-participation>.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

D. WOMEN IN THE LABOR FORCE

Women began expanding their presence in the labor force in the 1970s, transforming their primary roles as wife and mother to providers of the family, where a family's success becomes dependent on women as workers in the labor force.⁹⁷ Introducing women to the workforce (i.e., ensuring that the entire population has the opportunity to participate in the labor force, can be crucial to the overall economic advancement of a country, and this seems to be the direction in which the Philippines is headed. In 1987 when the Philippine constitution was rewritten, section 14 states, "The State recognizes the role of women in nation-building, and shall ensure the fundamental equality before the law of women and men," abolishing the "unequal provisions of the family" law previously put in place.⁹⁸

As illustrated in Table 4, there was an average annual change of approximately 1.2 percent in the female to male wage from 1978 to 1988. The steady annual change rate shows once women began to enter the workforce, even during Martial Law, participation of women in labor steadily and slowly increased. This data spans until just after Aquino took the presidency, and shows a positive percentage increase in female wages. However, 1.2 percent is relatively low when comparing the difference between men and women's wages.

⁹⁷ Roces, 68.

⁹⁸"The 1987 Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines," University of Minnesota: Human Rights Library, n. d., <http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/research/Philippines/PHILIPPINE%20CONSTITUTION.pdf>.

Table 4. Female Relative Earnings in Selected Countries and their Change over Time (Percentage)⁹⁹

Country	Year	F/M wage	Year	F/M wage	Annual change
Côte d'Ivoire	1985	75.7	1988	81.4	2.4
Brazil	1981	50.2	1990	53.6	0.7
Colombia	1984	67.2	1990	70.2	0.7
Philippines	1978	70.9	1988	80.0	1.2
Thailand	1980	73.5	1990	79.8	0.8
Indonesia	1986	55.6	1992	60.0	1.3

NOTE: Relative earnings are not usually comparable between countries.

In 1983, the Women's Industrial Worker's Alliance (WIWA) was established to deal with the concerns of women working as laborers and alongside it the Kilusang Manggagawang Kababaihan (KMK), an organization focusing on the Philippine Worker's Movement for women.¹⁰⁰ There has been much to focus on since the establishment of these organizations, and progress has been made on certain issues. The primary focus for these organizations in the late-1980s to mid-1990s were maternity leave and sexual harassment, but after the Anti-Sexual Harassment Act of 1995 was passed, the focus became the women's labor movement through the late 2000s, promoting women entering the workforce and receiving the same rights as men while at work.¹⁰¹

E. CORAZON AQUINO'S PRESIDENCY AND THE WOMEN'S AGENDA

Corazon Aquino did not find herself the first female president of the Philippines because she was actively seeking to become president; instead, the outcome was more based on circumstance and timing. Her path to the presidency began with the assassination of her husband, Ninoy Aquino, upon his return from America to the Manilla

⁹⁹ Zafiris Tzannatos, "Women and Labor Market Changes in the Global Economy: Growth Helps, Inequalities Hurt and Public Policy Matters," *World Development* 27, no. 3 (March 1999): 564.

¹⁰⁰ Roces, 68.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

airport on August 21, 1983.¹⁰² At this time, popularity for Ferdinand had dropped and Filipinos saw Ninoy's assassination as a sacrifice for the country at the hands of a corrupt regime. This sparked protests against Marcos in Manila, which MAKIBAKA participated in. The protests propelled Aquino to be the face of the nonviolent people's revolution which rejected Marcos after suspicions leaned toward a rigged election in 1986, giving the sense that the presidency chose her. The authors of *Dynasties and Female Political Leaders of Asia* explain this phenomenon for Asian female leaders in the "Shakespearean sense, 'they do not seek power, it is thrust upon them.'"¹⁰³ In other words, female Asian leaders are generally put into positions of power to continue a dynasty or patriarchy in order to keep the family name in elite political circles, and not necessarily because they choose it. This case study of Corazon Aquino seeks to understand whether and, if so, how her position as the first female president of the Philippines affected women's rights through economic, political, and social inclusion.

Corazon Cojuangco was born on January 25, 1933, and became well educated during her childhood. She met and married Ninoy Aquino in 1954. Ninoy Aquino ran for the mayor of Concepcion, a town just north of Manila in 1955, where Corazon Aquino experienced politics alongside her husband, learning how to speak to people in political settings.¹⁰⁴ Corazon began learning more in-depth politics during nightly dinners and while talking to other politicians through the political circles her husband held, with which she interacted with regularly.¹⁰⁵ Switching between political parties in the Philippines was commonplace, especially when choosing a winning party—and Ninoy Aquino moved from the Nationalista party to the dominant liberal party under the ninth President Diosdado P. Macapagal (Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo's father) at around the same time as his now-rival Ferdinand Marcos transferred from the Liberal Party to the Nationalista party to run for president.¹⁰⁶ When Marcos implemented Martial Law, he

¹⁰² Thompson, 153.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 155.

¹⁰⁴ Claude Albert Buss, *Cory Aquino and the People of the Philippines*, The Portable Stanford Series, (Stanford, CA.: Stanford Alumni Association, 1987), 9.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 7–9.

¹⁰⁶ Buss, 9.

ordered Ninoy to be arrested and he was kept in prison where he remained from 1972–1980 with punishment of death as his sentence for subversion and being a member of the communist party, an allegation he always denied.¹⁰⁷ He would remain in prison until he was granted a medical absence by Marcos to go to the United States for heart bypass surgery.¹⁰⁸ It was upon his return from America to Manila after recovering from surgery, when he was assassinated upon exiting the plane.

The demise of the Marcos regime seems to have been long and drawn out, and the face of the People’s Power Revolution was that of an unassuming character, Corazon Aquino. After Ninoy’s assassination, Corazon continued her involvement in politics, as a member of the opposition party against Marcos, without any commitment to run for president herself. The coaxing of family members as well as opposition party leaders, eventually coerced her to become a presidential candidate, but only after two conditions were met: “1. That Ferdinand Marcos agree to the elections being held earlier than normal (snap elections), and 2. That Aquino would receive a collection of 1 million Filipino citizen’s signatures supporting her candidacy to become president.”¹⁰⁹ She began her path to the presidency with a campaign playing to her moral character with just intentions to restore rights to the people and make decisions based on “the greater good.” This was a distinctive contrast to a twenty-year dictatorship based on corruption and immoral decisions by the current president. Many Filipinos began referring to her as “Inang Bayan,” “the mother of the nation.”¹¹⁰

When it was announced Marcos had won during the rushed and fraudulent election in February of 1986, crowds of Filipinos took to the streets in protest, which was deemed the “People’s Power Revolution.” The protests lasted for three days, from February 22 through 25, and Corazon Aquino was announced the eleventh president of the Philippines on February 25, with the inauguration following shortly thereafter.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 11.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Thompson, 156.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 157.

¹¹¹ Thompson, 156–59.

Corazon Aquino served as president of the Philippines from 1986–1992. After the People’s Power revolution, the structure of the state, the electoral system, and the democratic framework were redefined in both the newly signed Constitution (1987) and the Omnibus Election Code (OEC).¹¹²

1. The Political System in the Philippines after Martial Law

When Aquino stepped into office, her focus was to re-establish a democracy, and set-up the democratic framework for the country. The constitution lays out the three branches of the government—executive, legislative, and judiciary, all created equal. It allows for a president to be elected for six years in a single term, and also allows the president to create his/her party, instead of having to emerge from an established party.¹¹³ Congress was instated as a two-house system with 24 members of the senate elected nationally for two consecutive terms, six years each.¹¹⁴ In addition, 200 of the 250 members of the House of Representatives were now elected based on legislative districts dependent on population size serving a max of three consecutive terms of three years each.¹¹⁵

Political parties are important in establishing a democratic government. Prior to the 1950s and 1960s, the Philippines had a two-party system established, which Marcos abolished under Martial Law.¹¹⁶ The new constitution also moved the presidential system away from the previous two-party system in favor of a multi-party system, seen as freer and more open system.¹¹⁷ The system also allows the president to restructure the parties as they see fit.¹¹⁸ The reinstatement of political parties led toward relatively low conflict between the parties with most parties taking similar stances on main issues. Between the

¹¹² Velasco, 171.

¹¹³ Ibid., 172.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Samuel C. K. Yu, “Political Reforms in the Philippines: Challenges Ahead,” *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 27, no. 2 (August 2005): 222.

¹¹⁷ Velasco, 172.

¹¹⁸ Yu, 222.

late 1980s and late 1990s, three major parties were formed through different presidencies: The Lakas ng Tao-National Union of Christian Democrats (Lakas) in 1992, and the Laban ng Makabayang Masang Pilpino (LAMMP) and the Liberal Party (LP) in 1997, although it seems the party that holds the most power is based on which party the president supports.¹¹⁹

An overview of the major Philippine political parties is provided to understand how the parties evolved and joined together since their establishment. Lakas was created in 1992 and became powerful under Fidel Ramos's presidency.¹²⁰ In 1996, when Joseph Estrada became president, Lakas declined in power when Estrada favored LAMMP, but bounced back under Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, when she took office in 2001. The LAMMP party was formed in 1997 from two major parties and one minor party, the Laban ng Demokratikong Pilpino (LDP), the Nationalist People's Coalition (NPC), and the Partido ng Masang Pilpino (PMP).¹²¹ The LAMMP party's real power was cultivated by President Joseph Estrada who won the 1998 elections and merged the other parties to create LAMMP. During Estrada's presidency LAMMP was very powerful, but after Gloria Macapagal took the presidency following Estrada's impeachment, LAMMP began to steadily decline.¹²² The Liberal Party is one of the older political parties in the Philippines, and the only political party to survive the Marcos regime. During Corazon Aquino's presidency, the Liberal Party was the main political party, and one of the few parties reinstated in the 1987 constitution. It was not until 1987 the first all-woman political party, Kababihan Para sa Inang Bayan—Women for the Mother Country Party (KAIBA) KIBA was established.

As provided in Figure 7, there is an overview of the interactions of these political parties between 1986 and 2004, and how the power shifts from election to election. Under each president, the dominant political party in control is listed, and each president drew power and vice versa from a different political party while in office. This overview

¹¹⁹ Velasco, 175.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 178.

¹²¹ Velasco, 180.

¹²² Yu, 222.

is intended to provide a background to better understand that it would be hard to attempt to keep control of a dominant political party in the Philippines no matter the president's gender. That is because the power of political parties is based on the president in control. In politics, the focus is on Congress and the House of Representatives, which even in 2016, has a relatively low percentage of females in high ranking political positions. A brief description of the established political parties is provided to show the evolution of political parties after the democracy was re-established.

Figure 7. Philippines Political Party in Control during each Presidency¹²³

1986 Corazon Aquino	1992 Fidel Ramos	1996 Joseph Estrada	2000 Gloria Macapagal Arroyo	2004 Gloria Macapagal Arroyo
Laban ng Demokratiko Ng Pilipino (LDP)	Lakas Party- Established by former LDP party representatives	LAMPP- Combination of Nationalist People's Coalition (NPC), LDP, and Party of Filipino Masses (PMP)	Lakas-NUCD- KAMPI Union of Christian Democrats (NUCD) Kabalukat ng Malayang Pilipino (KAMPI)	Lakas-NUCD- KAMPI **In 2009 merged to become Lakas- CMD. Christian Muslim Democrats (CMD)

2. Women's Political Parties in the Philippines

Since 1987, attempts have been made by women to establish political parties in the Philippines. The first all-female political party, KAIBA came into existence prior to the 1987 congressional elections in which one congresswoman was elected.¹²⁴ KAIBA, as a party, did not do very well after its founding because, as Mina Roces states in

¹²³ Adapted from Velasco, 175–82; Yu, 221–24.

¹²⁴ Mina Roces and Louise P. Edwards, *Women's Movements in Asia: Feminisms and Transnational Activism* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2010), 38.

Women, Power, and Kinship Politics: Female Power in Post-War Philippines, there was a “lack of a women’s vote and the lack of support for a women’s political party.”¹²⁵ As was seen in the women’s movements, it appeared as if the forward momentum would continue, especially after a victory of the People’s Power Revolution. However, without the support for woman to succeed in political positions of power by other women, support and legitimacy for the party would fade, which is what ended up occurring in this case. Another reason why KAIBA failed is because of the inability of female political leaders to compete at the same level as their male counterparts across political parties.¹²⁶ This is in part because other political groups had strong ties and were established, where it seemed KAIBA was more fragmented from a lack of organizational support.¹²⁷

While in office, Corazon Aquino is attributed with implementing policies which would improve gender equality in the Philippines to a limited extent. This is not because she deliberately fought for gender equality, but because the women’s movement was already established and working to improve women’s rights. Near the end of her presidency in October 1991 she signed RA 7610 the Local Governance Act, which states among the three elected sectoral positions in each local legislative, one of those representatives will be a woman.¹²⁸ This demonstrates a large focus on including women in politics, starting at the local level. This law could certainly help the future for women in politics, and definitely shows an increased effort to promote the women’s agenda.

3. Policies Focusing on the Women’s Agenda under Aquino

Overall, Aquino’s strategy was not to choose sides, and her dedication to the Catholic Church would serve as a detriment for women’s equality during her time in office.¹²⁹ In addition, she did not choose to use a “transformative feminist lens” when

¹²⁵ Mina Roces, *Women, Power, and Kinship Politics: Female Power in Post-War Philippines* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998), 74.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 112.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ “The Local Government Code of the Philippines- Chan Robles Virtual Law Library,” CRALAW, July 19, 1998, <http://www.chanrobles.com/localgovfulltext.html#.WYtOUK3MzMU>.

¹²⁹ Veronica Montecinos, “Women Presidents and Prime Ministers in Post-Transition Democracies,” *Palgrave Studies in Political Leadership*, 1st edition, (New York, NY: Springer Berlin Heidelberg), 2017.

discussing policy implementation and gender equality, which might have been revolutionary for women in the country had she used some of her power to focus on women's rights.¹³⁰ Instead, of the 22 members of her presidential cabinet, Aquino appointed only one woman, choosing to assign the other positions to men who had closely supported her after Ninoy's assassination, and to whom she felt indebted.¹³¹

Throughout her presidency, the women's movement that had begun forming just before Marcos, became stronger. Although Aquino could have instituted public policy reforms, she did not; it was the women's group who fought for, "birth control, family planning, reproductive freedom and rights, and divorce rights."¹³² Aquino's affiliation for the Catholic Church resulted in protests by women's groups when she attempted to implement an Executive Order (EO) for the abolition of the Commission of Population (POPCOM), which would stop the dissemination of birth control and population control practices.¹³³ GABRIELA began a petition and staged protests to prevent Aquino from signing the EO provided by the Catholic Church, which they did.¹³⁴ Aquino never signed the EO. This indicates Aquino's role regarding women's rights was largely ceremonial in nature and her indecisive behaviors, combined with a reluctance to push legislature negatively impacted the women's agenda in certain areas.

One other reason Aquino may have been otherwise occupied and not made women's issues a priority, was the seven abortive military coup attempts during the first three years of her presidency, four of which occurred during the first year.¹³⁵ Two of her rivals were her Vice President Salvador Laurel and her Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, who believed running a country was not a position for a woman, and women should "rein not rule."¹³⁶ Aquino had many expectations to exceed when she took the

¹³⁰ Ibid., 209.

¹³¹ Ibid., 210.

¹³² Montecinos, 210.

¹³³ Ibid., 212–13.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 213.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 211.

¹³⁶ Thompson, 159.

role as president of the Philippines, and obstructing Marcos supporters from turning the country back into a dictatorship was a main priority.

In a speech given in New York on September 19, 1986, by Corazon Aquino, she said “Once the second wealthiest Asian country after Japan, [Philippines] we have plummeted off the charts... Only a tiny fraction of the \$26 billion Mr. Marcos borrowed actually ended up in productive local investment.”¹³⁷ One of Corazon Aquino’s main tasks as president was to improve the economy and the national deficit. In December, it was determined that snap elections would be held in February.¹³⁸ This would leave less than two months’ time to prepare a strategy to return the country to democracy, implement economic reform, attempt to reduce the country deficit, and prepare political reforms in preparation to take the presidency. Those tasks would not be easy, even with the most knowledgeable presidential cabinet to prepare.

The Philippines has struggled with economic stability since independence, especially under the Marcos dictatorship. When Marcos took the presidency in 1965, he inherited a budget deficit of \$600 million, which as Aquino reported, he increased to 26 billion by 1986. The accumulation of interest on external loans is hard to maintain as was seen in the 1983–1984 debt crisis, which occurred after the assassination of Ninoy Aquino when foreign investors stopped providing loans to the Philippines.¹³⁹ Figure 8 is an overall depiction of the Philippines Gross Domestic Product (GDP) since 1980.

Corruption and cronyism in the Marcos regime caused a downward spiral on the Philippine economy which continued to slowly decline until Marcos was removed from office in 1986.¹⁴⁰ The re-instatement of democratic practices under Corazon Aquino did not have an immediate positive impact on the economy that the Philippine citizens were

¹³⁷ Corazon Cojuangco Aquino, *Democracy by the Ways of Democracy : Speeches of President Corazon C. Aquino, Official Visit to the United States of America September, 15–24, 1986* (Manila: s. n., 1986), 58.

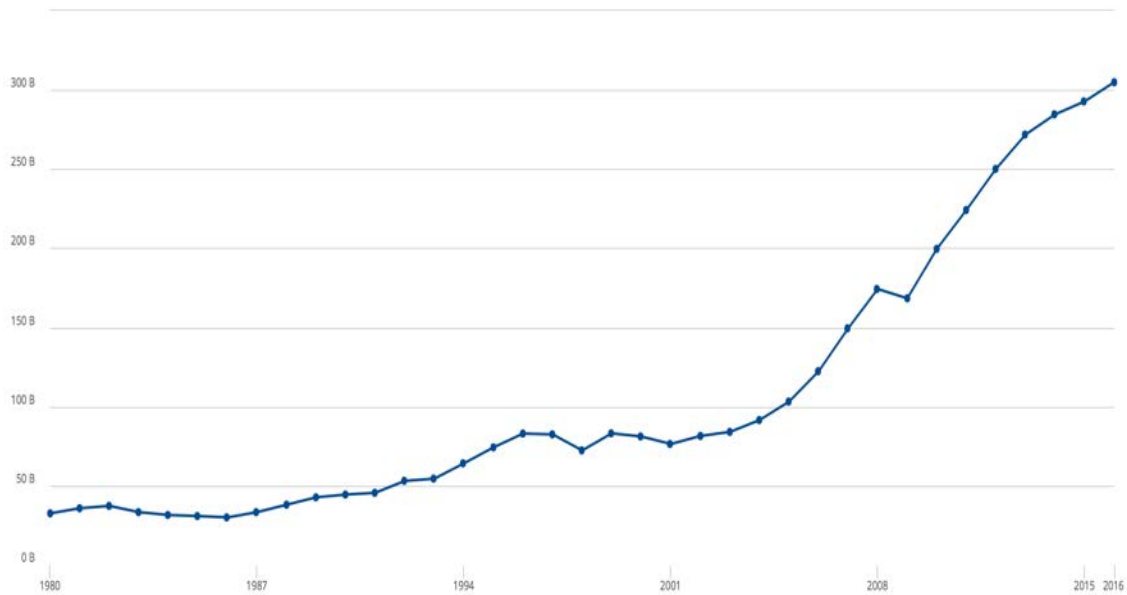
¹³⁸ Thompson, 156.

¹³⁹ James K. Boyce and Philippine Institute for Development Studies., *The Political Economy of External Indebtedness : A Case Study of the Philippines*, Monograph Series, (Manila: Philippine Institute for Development Studies, 1990), 5.

¹⁴⁰ Paul Hutchcroft, “After the Fall: Prospects for Political and Institutional Reform in Post-Crisis Thailand and the Philippines,” *Government and Opposition* 34, no. 4 (October 1999): 482.

expecting to see; although a number of economic reforms were implemented to improve the economy, some were more successful than others.

Figure 8. Philippines GDP (Current US\$) 1980–2016¹⁴¹

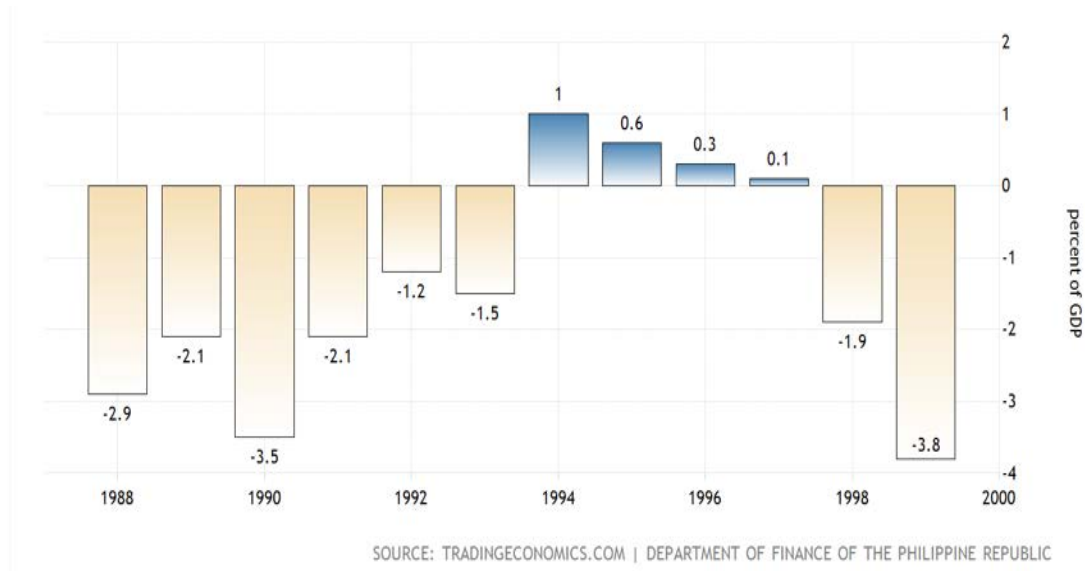


As visualized in Figure 9 is the Philippine budget deficit from 1988 to 2000. Once Aquino took the presidency and focused on the economy, some changes started to occur. Merchandise export earnings were up 18 percent by the end of 1986, and domestic investments were up 28 percent.¹⁴² Aquino made increasing exports a priority in 1986. In order to increase exports, the labor force would need to increase productions. One way to increase the labor force is to allow women to work.

¹⁴¹ “Databank World Development Indicators,” The World Bank, July 15, 2017, <http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=2&series=NY.GDP.MKTP.CD&country=PHL>.

¹⁴² Robert S. Dohner and Ponciano Intal Jr., “The Aquino Government and Prospects for the Economy,” in *Developing Country Debt and Economic Performance, Volume 3: Case Studies - Indonesia, Korea, Philippines, Turkey*, ed. Jeffery D. Sachs and Susan M. Collins (Illinois: University of Chicago, 1989), 579–80.

Figure 9. Philippines Government Budget Deficit 1988–2000¹⁴³



4. Transitioning after Aquino

During Aquino's presidency, her cabinet had identified Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) was an important factor in re-establishing the Philippine economy. She passed the *Foreign Investment Act of 1991* to open up 100 percent of foreign investment both domestically in foreign enterprise as long as they are on an approved list.¹⁴⁴ When Fidel Ramos took the presidency in 1992 after Aquino, he capitalized on Aquino's progress and saw a steady incline of economic successes during his presidency. Figure 10 shows a positive deficit during his presidency, which was important leading into the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis. The Philippines suffered some losses during the crisis, albeit not to the same extent as other countries in East Asia. Finally, the economy picked up again under the presidency of Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo (2001–2010), an economist who made reviving the economy one of her major focuses

¹⁴³ Source: "Philippines Government Budget," Trading Economics, July 15, 2017, <https://tradingeconomics.com/philippines/government-budget>. The article also cited Tradingeconomics.com: The Department of Finance of the Philippine Republic for the data found in Figure 9.

¹⁴⁴ Daniel Joseph Ringuet and Elsa Estrada, "Understanding the Philippines' Economy and Politics since the Return of Democracy in 1986," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 25, no. 2 (August 2003): 242.

F. GLORIA MACAPAGAL-ARROYO'S PRESIDENCY AND THE WOMEN'S AGENDA

If it could be argued whether Corazon Aquino did or did not promote the women's agenda during her presidency, it is even harder to determine Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo's role in promoting the woman's agenda during her presidency from 2001 to 2010. Arroyo was also the face of a revolution, deemed the second People's Power Revolution, which arose to overthrow President Joseph Estrada during his presidency because of corruption charges in 2001.¹⁴⁵ As the face of the second People's Power Revolution, Arroyo was chosen because of her position as vice president and because, as the People's Revolution sprang up, Filipino citizens treated this revolution similar to the revolution fifteen years prior, holding Arroyo to a high moral standard and using her gender to overcome another case of corruption and cronyism. The backing of the Catholic Church added to her appeal and solidified her as the fourteenth president of the Philippines. She became the first president to be related to a previous president, her father Diosdado Macapagal, who was the ninth president of the Philippines from 1961 to 1965.¹⁴⁶ Arroyo grew up in a household centered on politics when she was young, and as Aquino was introduced to politics through Ninoy, Arroyo's childhood would also shape her political future.

Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo was born on April 5, 1947, and was fifteen years old when her father became the ninth president of the Philippines.¹⁴⁷ She attended Ateneo de Manila University in 1978 for a master's degree in economics, University of Philippines for a Ph.D. in economics in 1985, and worked for President Aquino as the assistant security in the Department of Trade and Industry in 1989.¹⁴⁸ During the 1998 elections, Arroyo ran for vice president under the Lakas-NUCD-KAMPI political party and was elected to vice president alongside Joseph Estrada.¹⁴⁹ In 2000, when speculation began

¹⁴⁵ Thompson, 169.

¹⁴⁶ "Macapgal-Arroyo, Gloria," Encyclopedia.com, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/people/history/philippines-history-biographies/gloria-macapagal-arroyo>.

¹⁴⁷ "Macapgal-Arroyo, Gloria."

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

concerning corruption about Estrada, Arroyo resigned as vice president in October to lead the opposition party, which later became known as People Power 2 because it was the second revolution after Aquino in 1986.¹⁵⁰ After four days of demonstrations in January of 2001, Estrada was forced to step down as president, and Arroyo was named the fourteenth president on January 20, 2001.¹⁵¹ As Aquino spent most of her time fighting off coups from people in her own political circles, once president, Arroyo spent much of her time fighting corruption, and/or under the spotlight for charges because of corruption. A main focus for Arroyo became economic reform and anti-corruption schemes.

Corruption would follow Arroyo throughout her time in office. Her husband Jose Miguel (Mike) Arroyo was accused of corruption using the alias “Jose Pidal,”¹⁵² and upon Arroyo’s decision to run for re-election in 2004, she was rivals with actor and opponent Ferdinand Poe Jr., who used his celebrity to gain high public ratings.¹⁵³ There was much evidence the 2004 elections were compromised with election fraud and corruption. This election was more violent than the past two elections combined with 140 deaths, yet it was feared that Poe Jr. would revert the country back toward the Marcos regime style dictatorship, and so a blind eye was turned and Arroyo was re-elected.¹⁵⁴ This resulted in three impeachment attempts alongside one coup attempt in February of 2006, which she shut down with a majority vote in Congress.¹⁵⁴ It was near impossible to oust her from office because she constantly gifted military generals who pledged loyalty to her, and used them to quell any uprisings. The moral persona Arroyo had used to take the presidency in 2001 became shattered, and many believed she was not upholding her original morals and views.

1. Advancements in Women’s Rights under Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo

Academic literature linking the advancements of women in the Philippines with Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo is limited, with information on the topic hard to find without

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ “Macapgal-Arroyo, Gloria.”

¹⁵² Thompson, 172.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 173.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

an in-depth case study conducted. In 2010 Arroyo gave a speech for the 2010 Women's Month Celebration saying, "My administration has always been guided by the principle that empowering women will pave the way to building a stronger nation."¹⁵⁵ And, "I proudly share with you the joy of attaining high applauded status," she was referring to the Philippines high rank on the Gender Gap Report since 2006.¹⁵⁶ Although the literature does not directly link Arroyo with contributions to the women's agenda, advancements were still being made regardless. Provided in the following paragraphs are some of the advancements for women occurring during Arroyo's presidency.

In 2003, GABRIELA established a women's party, called the Gabriela Women's Party, in which the group won 3.7 percent of the vote during the thirteenth congress, and one woman won a seat during the 2004 elections.¹⁵⁷ The political party is comprised of over 250 women's organizations, but the politicians which comprised the document –*The Increased Number of Female Members in Parliament* attribute such a low percentage of the vote during the 2004 elections because, "there is not a formal recruitment process for women into political parties in the Philippines."¹⁵⁸ For women to achieve increased power, a successful path to follow would be beneficial, especially one that creates opportunities for a political career, setting a norm for what is now a deviation from the suggested path.

2. Policies Focusing on the Women's Agenda under Arroyo

The Philippines for the Committee of the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women released their fifth and sixth review in 2006, which are the most current reviews

¹⁵⁵ "President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo's Message for the 2010 Women's Month Celebration," Philippine Commission on Women: National Machinery for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment, March 11, 2010, <http://www.pcw.gov.ph/article/president-gloria-macapagal-arroyos-message-2010-womens-month-celebration>.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Phillips Jusario Vermonte and Irine H. Gayatri, "The Increased Number of Female Members of Parliament: Identifying Its Origins and Obstacles in Indonesia, the Philippines and Timor-Lest," USAID and Kemitraan Partnership, 2014, 10, http://iknowpolitics.org/sites/default/files/ikat_us_party_recruitment_en_-_final.pdf.

¹⁵⁸ Vermonte and Gayatri, 10.

conducted to date.¹⁵⁹ The report listed the main areas of concern, specifically the lack of national legislation and as the document states “comprehensive legal framework pertaining to gender equality.”¹⁶⁰ Documents had been drafted prior to this date such as the Code for Muslim Personal Laws—focuses on Muslim minorities in the Philippines including women; the Marital Infidelity Law—which focuses on adultery and the consequences of it, as well as the Magna Carta for Women Bill—a pledge to the CEDAW in defining and eradicating gender discrimination in the Philippines, but are still awaiting publication. This is a concern for the CEDAW the Philippines had agreed to focus on women’s rights over twenty-five years ago, yet efforts did not seem serious to keep in compliance to the international standard for the discrimination against women.¹⁶¹ Although, the Magna Carta for Women was signed and enacted in 2009.

The Magna Carta for Women lays out an extensive framework for the betterment of women, delegating guidance to improve equality in the Philippines. The declaration of the policy states, “Recognizing the economic, political, and sociocultural realities affect women’s current condition, the State affirms the role of women in nation building and ensures the substantive equality of women and men.”¹⁶² This model is set-up to be a powerful document if followed. Not only does it seek to provide mechanisms for the empowerment and equality of women, it delegates responsibilities to specific government offices to ensure its success, and the document uses definitions and requirements found in international documents to include the CEDAW, the International Convent on Civil Political Rights (ICCPR), and International Convent on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR).¹⁶³ This document seems to be the most robust document to date that provides tasks and information on the advancements of women’s equality in the Philippines. There is a lack of literature yet to see how well followed the Magna Carta is,

¹⁵⁹ “Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, .”

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² “Republic Act No. 9710 the Magna Carta of Women: Implementing Rules and Regulations,” Office of the President Philippine Commission on Women, April 2010, http://www.bwsc.dole.gov.ph/images/W3AP/ra9710_with_irr.pdf.

¹⁶³ “Philippines Must Act on Magna Carta of Women,” Center for Reproductive Rights, March 25, 2010, <https://www.reproductiverights.org/feature/philippines-must-act-on-magna-carta-of-women>.

but the signing of the Magna Carta for Women is a big step in promoting the women's agenda during her presidency.

G. GENDER EQUALITY TODAY IN THE PHILIPPINES

The authors of the book *Strategizing Justice: Women's Resource Book on Gender Justice* released in 2008, stated at the time the book was published the Philippines was still not yet in compliance with women's rights to the international standard, as laid out in the CEDAW.¹⁶⁴ It is important to understand where the women's agenda stands in 2016. As high of a rank as the Philippines receive on the annual gender gap report (top 5 percent), there still seems to be issues which are arguably important for the equality of women in a country. The beginning of the establishment of women's groups occurred over forty years, and at least one is still active today. The women's movement in the Philippines was strong and has been influential in paving the way for women's equality in Southeast Asia. These groups have been able to fight for the woman's narrative in the country, however, if the 1987 constitution provides equality at the same level to both men and women, why are there still wage disparities, very few women working in high ranking political positions, and sex trafficking? Provided are a few areas which remain a concern for gender equality in the Philippines.

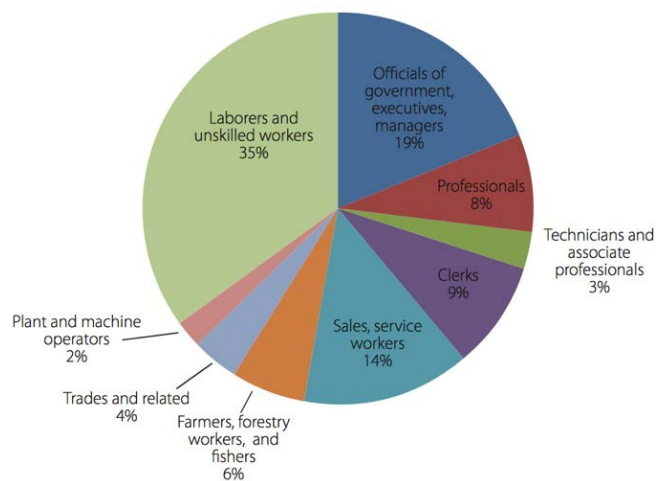
1. Economic Empowerment of Women

Women in the labor market have been making progress over the past decade, but it has not been split evenly across the board. Figure 10, from the Gender Equality in the Labor Market assessment of 2013, is a depiction of the distribution of women's employment by occupation in the Philippines as of 2011. This data is disconcerting because 35 percent of the women who hold jobs in the Philippines work as laborers and unskilled workers, which shows how unevenly distributed the women's labor force is. Women are increasingly joining the labor force, but what about women assuming jobs as technicians and associate professionals (3 percent) or trade and other related jobs (only 4

¹⁶⁴ "View the Ratification Status by Country or by Treaty," United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, September 27, 2017, http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/TreatyBodyExternal/Treaty.aspx?CountryID=137&Lang=EN.

percent)? The gender gap report states that women receive a higher percent of education than men for secondary education (Females 74 / Males 62) and tertiary education (Females 40 / Males 31), so why are there so few women job holders in higher professions?¹⁶⁵ Although it does note 19 percent of women are officials of government, executives, or managers, the 2016 gender analysis report shows women who hold high ranking political positions is very low.

Figure 10. Distribution of Women's Employment by Occupation in the Philippines, 2011¹⁶⁶



Note: Estimated for the working age fifteen years and older.

As seen in Figure 11, there is a wage disparity of 40 percent between employed men and women in the Philippines as of 2012. Although there is a high employment growth on average for women at 2.59 percent over men 2.17 percent, there are still fewer women in the labor force.

¹⁶⁵ "The Global Gender Gap Report 2016."

¹⁶⁶ Source: "Gender Equality in the Labor Market in the Philippines," Asian Development Bank, 2013, <https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/31194/gender-equality-labor-market-philippines.pdf>. ADB used the Government of the Philippines, Department of Labor and Employment. Decent Work Statistics Online database <http://www.bles.dole.gov.ph/dews/>. to compile the data in Figure 10.

Figure 11. Employment Indicators in the Philippines, 2011¹⁶⁷

Employment Indicator	Philippines	
Women's share of wage employment in nonagriculture sector	41.8% (in 2011)	
Estimated gender annual earnings ratio, 2012	60%	
Estimated gender annual earnings gap, 2012	40%	
Average real gross domestic product growth, 2000–2010	4.74%	
	Women	Men
Employment growth, annual average 2000–2010	2.59%	2.17%
Employment elasticity, 2000–2010	0.55	0.46
Employment rate, 2012	46.7%	72.9%

As seen in Figure 12, the economic empowerment of females is still lacking. Barely any data is provided about women in leadership roles in the work force, and women hold top positions in about 30 percent of firms in the Philippines. This is slightly above the global average of women in senior management positions, which ranked at (24 percent in 2016).¹⁶⁸ The ability of women to rise to positions of leadership is .80 percent according to Figure 12, which shows women have high potential to rise to leadership positions, and current discrimination laws even call for it, but the overall reality is women rarely make it to these positions. Progress still needs to be made before women's achievements are comparative to those of men in these areas. In addition, women in the agricultural sector are being forced into longer hours with no compensation, where their health and wellness is at risk, and where things such as child care are not taken into consideration.¹⁶⁹ These factors, combined with economic concerns for the country in general, leaves much concern for women holding these job positions.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ Source: "Gender Equality in the Labor Market in the Philippines," 9.

¹⁶⁸ Dina Medland, "Today's Gender Reality in Statistics, or Making Leadership Attractive to Women," *Forbes*, March 7, 2016, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/dinamedland/2016/03/07/todays-gender-reality-in-statistics-or-making-leadership-attractive-to-women/#2266c13d6883>.

¹⁶⁹ Lozada and Philippine Coalition for the International Criminal Court., 11.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

Figure 12. Economic Leadership for Women in the Philippines, 2016¹⁷¹

Economic leadership	female	male	value
Law mandates equal pay			yes
Ability of women to rise to positions of leadership			0.80
Boards of publicly traded companies	—	—	—
Firms whose ownership includes women			69.20
Firms whose top management includes women			29.90
R&D personnel	45	55	0.83

Note: Unless otherwise indicated by a superscripted note, “female” and “male” refers to percentage rates for the corresponding indicator: “value” refers to the female-over-male ratio. Percentage rates have been rounded for reporting purposes. Exact values have been used for calculating ratios and scores.¹⁷²

2. Political Participation of Women

Figures 13 and 14 show the change in numbers of women holding political positions between 2001 and 2016. As depicted in Figure 13, the only time there have been over 33.3 percent of women elected into the senate was in 2013. For gender equality in Southeast Asia this is a high percentage, but with policies the Philippines has put into place for the advancements of women, this percentage could be higher. The number of women who hold positions in public office is still relatively low compared to men. Overall, however, there has been no breakthrough in women’s political participation through legislative office in the Philippines. As illustrated in Figure 14 where a much lower number of women hold elected positions through the country than their male counterparts. A continued focus by women’s groups on political participation is required, along with increasing women’s interest in running for elected office, before the numbers start to show progress.

¹⁷¹ Source: “Philippines,” World Economic Forum.

¹⁷² “The Global Gender Gap Report 2016.”

Figure 13. Number of Elected Positions in Congress, by Sex:
2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013, 2016¹⁷³

Election Year	Office	Elected Women		Elected Men		Positions Filled
		Number	% Share	Number	% Share	
2001	Senate	1	7.7	12	92.3	13
	House of Representative	33	15.8	176	84.2	209
2004	Senate	3	25.0	9	75.0	12
	House of Representative	32	15.2	179	84.8	211
2007	Senate	1	8.3	11	91.7	12
	House of Representative	45	20.7	172	79.3	217
2010	Senate	2	16.7	10	83.3	12
	House of Representative	48	21.6	174	78.4	222
2013	Senate	4	33.3	8	66.7	12
	House of Representative	60	25.6	174	74.4	234
2016	Senate	2	16.7	10	83.3	12
	House of Representative	68	28.6	170	71.4	238

Source: Commission on Elections (Comelec)

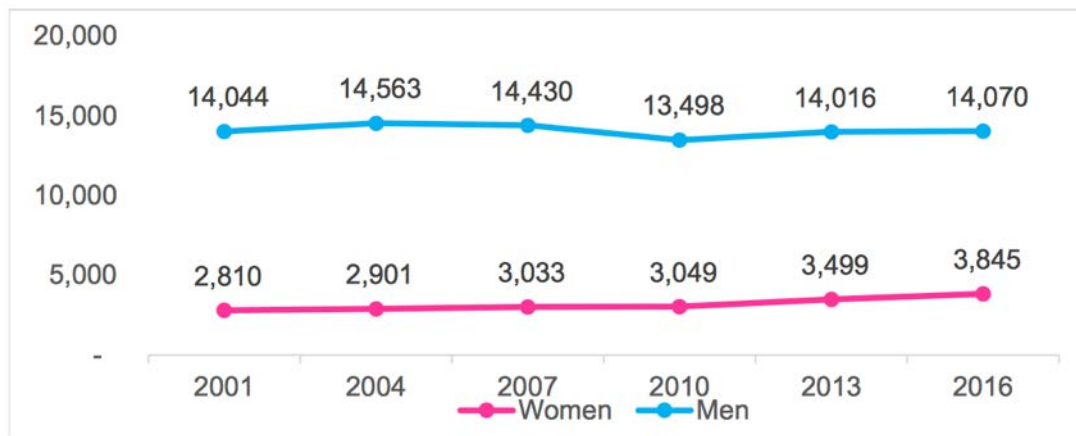
Note: “The number of elected men in Congress consistently dominated their female counterpart since 2001 although the number of women being elected has steadily risen from 2001 to 2013. Compared to the previous years, women had the highest percentage of elected member in the Senate in 2013 and House of Representatives in 2016, that is, 33.3% and 28.6%, respectively.”¹⁷⁴

Putting things in perspective, Figure 14 provides data for all elected positions between 2001 and 2016 divided by gender. Even in 2016, there were only 3,845 women in elected positions compared to the 14,070 positions held by men. That data provides only 27 percent of women hold elected positions in the Philippines as of last year. The implementation of RA 7160 “The Local Governance Law” has been beneficial in increasing these numbers because it demands that one of the three sectoral representatives be a woman. A pathway for women in politics would be helpful for other women who would like to pursue political careers, but do not know how to go about doing so.

¹⁷³ “2016 Statistical Handbook on Women and Men in the Philippines,” Philippine Statistics Authority, December 2016, <https://psa.gov.ph/sites/default/files/kmcd/WAM%20Women%20and%20Men%20Handbook%20in%20the%20Philippines%202016.%20Final.pdf>.

¹⁷⁴ “Education,” United Nations.

Figure 14. Total Number of Elected Positions, by Position and Sex, in the Philippines: 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013, 2016¹⁷⁵



Note: “The number of female officials increased in all positions in 2013 resulting to its highest percent growth at 1.55 % from the previous year. Meanwhile, the total number and percent share of elected female officials was at their highest in 2016, at 3,845 and 21.46%.”¹⁷⁶

3. Violence against Women

Finally, evidence and data suggests sex trafficking and violence against women is an important topic for the women’s agenda. Although it is not a main focus of this paper, the advancements of women’s rights are and it merits a short discussion. Historical data is hard to gather for this subject, but a major and important topic that comes up for VAW is the trafficking of women and youth in third world countries.¹⁷⁷ Under the Marcos regime, Manila became known as “the sex capital of the world” because of the amount of prostitutes as well as the amount of income this form of work brought in yearly.¹⁷⁸ Although prostitution was illegal, the government did more to promote it rather than discourage it, which led to an encompassing view in the Philippines that women are objects/commodities, things to obtain and not humans who are equal with their male counterparts.¹⁷⁹ These views of Filipino women by men and foreigners does not help in taking women seriously and supporting their equality in the Philippines. This was not

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Lozada and Philippine Coalition for the International Criminal Court., 12.

¹⁷⁸ Roces, *Women’s Movements and the Filipina*, 55.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

only happening in country, but also overseas. Filipino women were deemed Overseas Performing Artists (OPAs), and in 2002, there were over 69,989 OPAs registered in Japan, which also contributes to views by other countries that Filipino women are objects. This makes it harder in the long run when the focus becomes women's equality, if men are used to viewing women as objects.¹⁸⁰

In 1993, the Vienna World Conference was held in Manila, and participants signed the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, Asia Pacific (CATW-AP) to focus on illegal trafficking and prostitution.¹⁸¹ The CATW-AP also led to the signing of the Anti-Trafficking in Persons Act of 2003, Republic Act No. 9208, which provides rights to women prostitutes.¹⁸² In the 2016 Trafficking in Persons Report (TIPR) trafficking report for the Philippines released by the U.S. Department of state, the Philippines was ranked at a tier 1 meaning there is a, “commitment of the Philippine government to prosecute trafficking cases, protect victims, and prevent future trafficking during the April 1, 2015, to March 31, 2016, reporting period.”¹⁸³ The Philippines and South Korea are the only 2 Asian countries to be ranked tier 1 in the 2017 report.¹⁸⁴ Prostitution and sex trafficking in the Philippines is still a concern. The acknowledgement which the country is doing what they need to fight human trafficking is a step in the right direction, however, trafficking in persons and prostitution in the Philippines still exists, so there is more work to be done to abolish these practices, which continue to be a detriment toward the progression of women's rights.

The Philippines is ranked in the top five percent on the 2016 Global Gender Gap Report, but there are still many improvements that could be made to increase gender equality in the country, while also promoting the women's agenda. The early

¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸⁰ Roces, *Women's Movements and the Filipina*, 55.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 54.

¹⁸² “Anti-Trafficking in Persons Act of 2003,” Philippine Commission on Women, December 2003, <http://www.pcw.gov.ph/sites/default/files/documents/resources/ra-9208-trafficking-irr.pdf>.

¹⁸³ “Philippines Upgraded to Tier 1 in 2016 Us State Department Trafficking in Persons Report,” U.S. Embassy in the Philippines, July 1, 2016, <https://ph.usembassy.gov/philippines-upgraded-tier-1-2016-us-state-department-trafficking-persons-report/>.

¹⁸⁴ “Trafficking in Persons Report June 2017,” June 2017, U.S. Department of State, <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/271339.pdf>.

implementation of labor unions in the Philippines served to promote the formation of groups to fight for human rights over time, and potentially serves as the basis for the strong women's movement that formed in the Philippines prior to the Marcos authoritarian regime. Marco's regime created the impetus for further action by abolishing human rights in general, which prompted underground action by many citizens to include women's groups such as MAKIBA and GABRIELA. Corazon Aquino becoming the first female president of the Philippines added to the number of female leaders in Asia, but her priorities for women's rights were more ceremonial in nature. Her dedication to the Catholic Church even caused some disagreement between her and women's groups. Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo spent much of her presidency focusing on corruption charges against herself and her family, although one of her major successes in the advancements of the women's agenda was the signing of the 2009 Magna Carta of Women, which delegates specific tasks to organizations to promote the advancement of women.

The Philippines has increased the number of women in the workforce, which contributes to the economy, but still has not seen a large increase in women holding top managerial positions. The Philippines has also steadily increased the number of elected officials from the 2001 to 2016 elections as seen in Figure 13, although the highest number of elected officials is still less than 30 percent inclusion for women.¹⁸⁵ Socially, women have been fighting alongside men since the Marco regime, but sex trafficking and violence against women still remains a concern. Overall, this research finds that the Philippines has made significant advancements in women's equality, but there is still work to be done. The female leaders of the Philippines supported the women's agenda when it was convenient, and did not prioritize women's rights when it was not. The successes and improvements for women's rights in the Philippines are in huge part because of the women's movement.

¹⁸⁵ "Trafficking in Persons Report June 2017."

III. ADVANCEMENTS IN GENDER EQUALITY: INDONESIA

This chapter will focus on analyzing the three factors important to the advancement of gender equality—social inclusion, economic stability, and politics—and how these aspects have shaped women’s roles in Indonesia. Indonesia underperforms the Philippines in terms of women’s equality rankings in the 2016 Gender Gap report. Where the Philippines is ranked number 6 of 144 for gender equality, putting it in the top 5 percent of countries, Indonesia is ranked 88 of 144, putting it in the 61st percentile for gender equality worldwide. It can be argued that in the 1950s Indonesia saw one of the largest women’s movements in Asia, essentially paving the way for women’s equality there. Yet government turmoil and an attempted coup in 1965 saw the downfall for this massive women’s movement. The abolishment of women’s groups in 1965 is a potential cause which prevented the advancement and promotion of the women’s agenda. Where the Philippines expanded on a women’s movement which began in the early 1960s, Indonesia did not have a similar setup to increase women’s equality or promote women’s policies. Megawati Sukarnoputri became the first female president of Indonesia from 2001 to 2004, and, similar to both female presidents in the Philippines, it appears that she did not herself much promote the women’s agenda. This chapter begins with the current statistics of gender equality in Indonesia, and is set up chronologically beginning with the Sukarno presidency, followed by the Suharto regime and dictatorship, and transitioning to the Megawati case study, which attempts to determine what role she played in promoting the women’s agenda through social, economic, and political means. The final section focuses on gender equality across Indonesia today.

A. SOCIAL INCLUSION OF WOMEN IN INDONESIA

Indonesia’s assessment in the Gender Gap Report 2016 gives some indicators about the current state of women’s equality in the country today. Figure 15 is the country score card from the Gender Gap Report for Indonesia. Very similar to findings about the Philippines, women compare to men in terms of education levels with women attending secondary education at the same percentage as men (females 75 / males 75) and even

Figure 15. Global Gender Gap Report for the Indonesia 2016¹⁸⁶



B. INDONESIA COLONIALIZATION AND POLITICS UNDER SUKARNO

Where the Philippines was the only Asian country to be colonized and ruled by the Spanish, the colonization of Indonesia occurred primarily by the Dutch beginning in the early Seventeenth Century.¹⁸⁷ The Dutch began seizing parts of the country primarily based on economic interests and, as a result, Dutch colonization varied greatly throughout Indonesia. Some colonized areas willingly accepted Dutch rule, allying with the Dutch and adopting their culture and customs and (e.g., the Minahasans of northern Sulawesi), whereas some areas vehemently opposed Dutch rule, and were exterminated because of it (e.g., Banda Islands in Maluku).¹⁸⁸ The political system the Dutch set up in Indonesia allowed colonists to hold the majority of the positions of power leaving many political issues unresolved, while Indonesian citizens did administrative work.¹⁸⁹ This led to increased resentment of the Dutch and the beginnings of the nationalist movement in Indonesia where citizens determined the only way to repair the country was to overthrow the Dutch.¹⁹⁰ The start of World War II, however, brought a new adversary to Indonesia, with the Japanese occupation from 1942–1945. The fight for independence had already begun, and women's groups were joining the cause. When the Indonesian constitution was re-written in 1945, the document established equal rights to both men and women.¹⁹¹ Indonesia gained independence on August 17, 1945. The first Indonesian president, Sukarno, established a parliamentary democracy which included over 30 political parties, while still maintaining control of the government.¹⁹² Under Sukarno, a robust women's movement emerged.

¹⁸⁷ Robert Cribb and Colin Brown, *Modern Indonesia: A History since 1945* (New York: Longman Group Limited, 1995), 1,5.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 6.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 7.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 8–10.

¹⁹¹ Clinton Bennett, *Muslim Women of Power: Gender, Politics, and Culture in Islam* (New York: Continuum, 2010), 177.

¹⁹² Andrew MacIntyre, "Indonesia," in *Democracy, Governance, and Economic Performance : East and Southeast Asia*, ed. Ian Marsh, Jean Blondel, and Takashi Inoguchi (New York, NY: United Nations University Press, 1999), 263.

C. THE FORMATION OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Women's groups began forming at the beginning of the nineteenth century, paralleling fights for independence from the Dutch and then the Japanese, and the fight for nationalism across Indonesia.¹⁹³ The majority of women's groups originated in Java or Bali, which, considering the island geography of Indonesia, meant that not all areas would benefit from these groups. The official women's organization of the Japanese occupation was established in Bali in March of 1943, called Fujinkai.¹⁹⁴ The group was created to support the Japanese war effort, helping out on the front lines to set up outdoor kitchens, sew uniforms, and provide first aid, but overall to fight for the social welfare and health care of women.¹⁹⁵ Finjinkai later evolved into the women's organization, Perwari (Unity of Women of the Republic of Indonesia), with a main focus to fight for independence in Indonesia.¹⁹⁶

In the 1950s, after independence was gained, the women's movement continued with the formation of Gerwani (Gerakan Wanita Indonesia—Indonesian Women's Movement). Gerwani originated in Java in 1950 merging six women's organizations into one, bringing millions of members together at the national level.¹⁹⁷ Gerwani, alongside other women's groups during this time, also was a grassroots movement focusing on women's rights, which is very similar to how women's groups in the Philippines got their start.¹⁹⁸ There were membership fees to provide money and funding to the cause and to predominately keep these groups within the middle and upper-class realm.¹⁹⁹ Gerwani's main focuses included ideology, education, politics, and economy, and the organization

¹⁹³ Elizabeth Martyn, *The Women's Movement in Post-Colonial Indonesia: Gender and Nation in a New Democracy*, Asaa Women in Asia Series (New York: Routledge, 2005), 75.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 223.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 44.

¹⁹⁶ Tita Marlita and Marilyn Porter, "Feminism in Indonesia," in *Women's Studies in Asia Series: Indonesian Women in a Changing Society*, ed. Kristi Poerwandari (Seoul, Korea: Ewha Womans University Press, 2005), 50.

¹⁹⁷ Marlita, 60.

¹⁹⁸ Kuswandini Dian, "The Rise and Fall of Indonesia's Women's Movement," *Europe Solidaire Sans Frontières*, april 21, 2010, <http://www.europe-solidaire.org/spip.php?article17226>.

¹⁹⁹ Marlita, 61.

moved to the capital in Jakarta to be near the government in order to fight for the cause.²⁰⁰ During a turn of events in 1965 the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) attempted a coup against Sukarno and failed. Gerwani was linked with PKI, and although the group was thriving under the Sukarno regime, it was abolished after the attempted coup, putting a halt to the women's movement in Indonesia.²⁰¹

According to Wieringa in *The Birth of the New Order State in Indonesia: Sexual Politics and Nationalism*, it is theorized Gerwani was shut down because of its constant fight for women's political activism, which during the time was disobedient and seen as unacceptable by Indonesian leaders.²⁰² There were rumors spread after the coup attempt that women from Gerwani cut off the genitals of six generals before they were killed by Sukarno's soldiers, but forensic evidence conducted later states this was not the case.²⁰³ These fabricated stories were likely a plot to slander Gerwani's name and make it easier to shut-down the organization. This, along with their close relation with the PKI, seem to be the main reasons why they were shut down, even during one of the biggest women's movements in Southeast Asia at the time. Where the Philippines women's movement was a steady ramping of effort, arguably plateauing at times, then continuing to increase and expand, the Indonesian women's movement came and went in waves. After the attempted coup against Sukarno in 1965, General Suharto stepped in as military dictator in 1966 establishing what was known as the "New Order" regime in Indonesia, changing the political framework of the government and further suppressing the women's movement throughout the next three decades. The women's movement would arguably not pick back up again until after the fall of Suharto's New Order regime in 1998.

D. POLITICS UNDER SUHARTO

When General Suharto took control of the country in 1966, he established a "guided democracy" under an authoritarian framework that abolished the previous

²⁰⁰ Dian.

²⁰¹ Dian.

²⁰² Askia Wieringa, "The Birth of the New Order State in Indonesia: Sexual Politics and Nationalism," *Journal of Women's History* 15, no. 1 (2003): 75.

²⁰³ Dian.

political parties and decreed there were only three main political parties allowed by law—1. The State political party, 2. Golkar, and 3. Partai Per Stauang Pembangunan (PPP) / Indonesia Democratic Party (PDI).²⁰⁴ The president now had much more power and authority, with the ability to abolish political parties not conforming to state goals.²⁰⁵ Under Suharto, the president could challenge the results of any election; any candidate running for office would have to gain approval through the General Election Institute; and the president chose which cabinet members were appointed, subject to removal at any time.²⁰⁶ These rules exposed the guided democracy as more of a dictatorship, and Suharto retained firm control over military forces. Initially, this guided democracy caused unrest and became chaotic, leading to instability.²⁰⁷ Once in office, Suharto ordered the eradication of all communists (which led to the deaths of over 500,000 people) in order to disassemble the “Old Order,” along with excluding active participation in politics in an effort to centralize power, and a continued focus on *Pancasila* principles, originally implemented under Sukarno.²⁰⁸

Suharto continued the implementation of *Pancasila* with the intent to bring the identities of a diverse people together as one Indonesian nation.²⁰⁹ The five principles of Pancasila are—belief in God, a just and civilized humanitarianism, national unity, Indonesian democracy through constitutional and consensus, and social justice for all Indonesians.²¹⁰ These principles became the basis for ‘Pancasila Democracy,’ an effort to bring the Indonesian people together, but without defining them through Islamic practices.

In addition to *Pancasila* principles, Suharto found a way to exploit state ibuism—also known as ‘state motherhood’—focusing on women in Indonesia but in a manner that

²⁰⁴ MacIntyre, 263.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 263, 68.

²⁰⁷ Michael R. J. Vatikiotis, *Indonesian Politics under Suharto: The Rise and Fall of the New Order*, Third edition, (New York: NY: Routledge, 1993), 93.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 94–104.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 95.

²¹⁰ Ramage, i.

had the effect of limiting women's empowerment.²¹¹ Suharto did this by publicly supporting the women's group Kowani, originally established in 1928 during the nationalist movement, while ensuring the group was ineffective and unable to continue on the path of other groups, such as Gerwani. He pushed Kowani to take a more charitable role on behalf of women, rather than becoming an effective women's group that focused on and advocated for the women's agenda.²¹²

The five principles of state ibuism put into practice were called the "*Panca Darma Wanita* (five basic obligations of women), which Kowani adopted as their main principles and supported: the woman's role is to be a wife at her husband's side, the nation's protector, a mother and an educator of children, a housekeeper, and an Indonesian citizen—in that order."²¹³ These principles show the effort put into place by Suharto to de-politicize women during his rule, and also turn women into dutiful wives to their husbands. According to Fatima Mernissi, a known Moroccan feminist during this time, "women's disobedience has been feared in the Muslim world because of perceived enormous consequences," which also explains how these rules could be used to quell uprisings by mandating women be placed into non-threatening roles such as mother and housekeeper.²¹⁴ These principles remained in place until the forced retirement of Suharto, a turning point which again saw the reemergence of a women's movement in Indonesia.

Under Suharto, there were a few important documents signed that had the potential to improve the women's agenda in Indonesia. Indonesia signed the UN Convention on Political Rights of Women (Law no. 68/1968), wherein the first three articles state all women are entitled to vote, are eligible for election, and are able to hold

²¹¹ Monika S.W. Doxey, "The 'Motherhood' Strategy of Indonesia's Suara Ibu Peduli," in *Building Feminist Movements and Organizations: Global Perspectives*, ed. Noel D. Payne Lydia Alpizer Duran, and Anahi Russo (New York: NY: Association of Women's Rights in Development (AWID), 2007), 209, 10.

²¹² Julia I. Suryakusuma, *State Ibuism : The Social Construction of Womanhood in New Order Indonesia* (Depok, West Java, Indonesia: Komunitas Bambu, 2011), 15–16.

²¹³ Doxey, 210.

²¹⁴ Wieringa, 75–76.

public office.²¹⁵ Indonesia also signed the UN Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women in 1980 with ratification occurring in 1984.²¹⁶ The second and third reports released on February 12, 1997, analyzed the country's ability to comply with the sixteen articles within the document. Although the report shows the potential for the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women was present, reality shows that political tactics and socio-cultural practices remained an obstacle to the advancements of women's equality in Indonesia.²¹⁷ Even with the framework for the women's agenda at the international standard in place, women were still subordinate in all aspects of daily life.²¹⁸

E. THE REFORMATION OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

At the end of Suharto's rule, during yet another time of economic and political unrest, feminists capitalized on the fall of the thirty-year authoritarian regime, and formed a new grassroots woman's group called Suara Ibu Peduli (SIP) to continue the fight for motherhood and the empowerment of women.²¹⁹ SIP focused on the *Panca Darma Wanita* principles, but in a manner that enabled feminists to use the concept of *ibu* as an identity for women in Indonesia, unifying women across different boundaries, such as class and religion, instead of being just a "dutiful wife."²²⁰ SIP organized during a period of economic distress: one tangible effect of the Asian Financial Crisis of July 1997 was the dramatic rise in prices for everyday items making it hard to provide milk/formula to newborn babies.²²¹ Focusing on the need for milk, SIP banded together, educated

²¹⁵ "Resolutions Adopted on Reports of the Third Committee," United Nations Treaty Collection, December 1952, https://treaties.un.org/doc/source/docs/A_RES_640_VII-E.pdf.

²¹⁶ "Ratification of 18 International Human Rights Treaties," United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, 2014, <http://indicators.ohchr.org>.

²¹⁷ "Second and Third Reports of State Parties: Indonesia," Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, February 12, 1997, <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N97/051/89/IMG/N9705189.pdf?OpenElement>.

²¹⁸ Khofifah Indar Parawansa, "Institution Building: An Effort to Improve Indonesian Women's Role and Status," in *Women in Indonesia: Gender, Equity, and Development*, ed. Kathryn May Robinson and Sharon Bessell (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2002), 71.

²¹⁹ Doxey, 209.

²²⁰ Ibid., 211.

²²¹ Ibid., 212.

themselves on business practices, bought milk in bulk quantities, and began distributing it at a lower cost to the women who needed it.²²² SIP also collaborated with students to conduct non-violent protests and to make women's issues known, quickly becoming a political movement.²²³ Karlina, a woman feminist who worked closely alongside SIP for the empowerment of women, is quoted as saying "when [women] realize they are marginalized, they realize they have to change themselves and their husbands and society, so it is being mothers plus being marginalized."²²⁴ This quote adequately depicts why the women's movement is so important to Indonesian women, and why the women's agenda matters because women should not be forced into lesser rules while at the same time required to provide for their families. The average female salary is less than half the average male salary in Indonesia, making equal pay a main concern for the women's movement there.²²⁵ As was noted above, the Indonesian women's movement came and went in waves, but the formation of SIP allowed for women to continue the fight, which had begun in the 1950s, and is still active today.

Another violent rebellion in May 1998 led to the resignation of Suharto after a thirty-year dictatorship. Noticeably absent during this uprising were feminists and members of SIP.²²⁶ The rebellion became so violent in Jakarta that the protection of families became the immediate concern, which saw women stepping back as protectors and civil unrest to be carried out almost entirely by men.²²⁷ Suharto's forced resignation set the stage for a president that could provide democracy to the state and become the face of promise and hope throughout the country. After a few interim years, the 2001 Indonesian elections resulted in the first female president, Megawati Sukarnoputri, entering office.

²²² Marilyn Porter, "Feminism Is a Good Woman: Reflections on the Use of Ideas in the Women's Movement in Indonesia," *Asian Journal of Women's Studies* 9, no. 7 (May 31, 2003): 6.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 7–8.

²²⁴ Porter, 11.

²²⁵ "The Global Gender Gap Report 2016."

²²⁶ Kathryn Robinson, "Gender, Islam, and Democracy in Indonesia" (New York: Routledge), 8.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*

F. MEGAWATI SUKARNOPUTRI'S PRESIDENCY AND THE WOMEN'S AGENDA

Diah Permata Megawati Setiawati Sukarnoputri was born on January 23, 1947, the daughter of Sukarno, Indonesia's first president.²²⁸ On paper, Megawati's education was at a low level. She left Pajajaran University in Bandung without receiving her degree because of her involvement in politics at the University. Her involvement in politics led to her receiving threats and reprimand from the dean of students, and her choosing to leave the University without graduating. In 1987, she ran to become the political party leader of the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI). Her decision to run for a position in PDI came following an absence from politics lasting over a decade resulting from the death of Sukarno in 1970 and also the death of her first husband, Surindro Supjarso, who was killed in an unexplained plane crash that same year,²²⁹

Her involvement with PDI as the party's leader eventually led to her being elected as Vice President of Indonesia from 1999 to 2001 and ultimately set her on the path to becoming Indonesia's first female president.²³⁰ Like Corazon Aquino in the Philippines, Megawati benefited politically from the sympathy awarded to her as a result of from both her father's and first husband's deaths. When Megawati was a child, she had also witnessed an assassination attempt against Sukarno on November 30, 1957, where he was unhurt but other fatalities occurred.²³¹ Ricarda argues in *"Mega" Expectations: Indonesian's Democratic Transition* that these events led Sukarnoputri's followers to emphasize and understand her "motherly nature," which was vaunted under the *ibuism* concept.²³² The idea that a woman could be the head of state in Indonesia comes about because the "concept is based on the notion that a woman is able to serve unselfishly without putting personal gain first" and also the idea that "in Javan culture the woman

²²⁸ Ricarda Gerlach, "'Mega' Expectations: Indonesia's Democratic Transition and First Female President," in *Dynasties and Female Political Leaders in Asia: Gender, Power and Pedigree*, ed. Claudia Derichs and Mark R. Thompson (Berlin: Lit, 2013), 248.

²²⁹ Gerlach, 151–53.

²³⁰ Bennett, 164.

²³¹ Gerlach, 251.

²³² *Ibid.*, 251, 59.

strives to raise the status of the family.”²³³ Although Sukarnoputri was the daughter of Sukarno, she was not seen as trying to accrue power by taking the presidency; instead, her main duty was seen first and foremost as a mother, with all other duties coming second.²³⁴

PDI declared itself the opposition party against Suharto, and soon Suharto began perceiving Megawati as a threat. Her role as PDI’s leader provided Megawati a platform to promote her ideals, which were closely related to those of Sukarno, and began to invoke anti-government sentiments from the group. Suharto’s men began to target Megawati, although Megawati seemed to elude every attempted deterrence by Suharto. As PDI began to accumulate followers backing Megawati, protests began to break out, and members of PDI ended up behind bars effectively silencing them, Megawati remained opposing, but also cautiously quiet during the peak of the protests, continuing to evade the government.²³⁵

Once the protests turned violent, there were injuries and deaths among Megawati’s followers. July 27, 1996, became known as one of the most violent days, and has since been referred to by Indonesians as Black Saturday.²³⁶ As Aquino became the face of the future during the People’s Revolution in the Philippines, Megawati assumed the same role during the continued violent protests in Jakarta. Megawati’s moral capital preceded her—much like Aquino, she had transitioned from Sukarno’s daughter to the figurehead that could take down Suharto. After renouncing her position as PDI party leader during the 1997 elections because Suharto had ensured PDI was unable to provide a candidate, Megawati gained ground as a stand-alone politician.

The re-election of Suharto as president in 1998 set off a violent people’s power movement in which “looting, murdering, and raping in the capital [became commonplace and resulted in] a death toll of 1300 people.”²³⁷ Once the military turned on him, Suharto

²³³ Ibid., 259, 60.

²³⁴ Ibid., 260.

²³⁵ Gerlach,, 262.

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ Ibid., 267.

resigned from his position on May 21, 1998. Simultaneously, Megawati established a new political party called Indonesia's Democratic Party-Perjuangan (PDI-P) / (PDI-FIGHT), and soon became vice president under Abdurrahman Wahid.²³⁸ Corruption cases and an attempted coup saw Wahid step down from his post as president, and Megawati was inaugurated as Indonesia's fifth president on July 23, 2001.²³⁹

Policies Focusing on the Women's Agenda under Megawati

Several important policies were enacted to improve the advancements of women during Megawati's presidency. One of the major policies was the 2003 Election Act, which called for women's participation in parliamentary elections at 30 percent. However, according to Gayatri's research, "many saw there was a problem with Article 67 paragraph 3 of the 2003 Law on Elections, because the paragraph stipulated that party leaders would have the authority to determine the list of political party candidates prior to elections."²⁴⁰ This would mean that although 30 percent of a party list had to be women, they would be ranked on a list by party leaders leading into elections showing the most favorable candidates at the top. As predicted, many of the woman candidates ranked lower on the list because of a "lack of gender perspective by party leaders" making it harder for women to advance.²⁴¹

The 2003 election act also states, "An election of public nature means guaranteeing that opportunities are given fully to all citizens, without discrimination on grounds of ethnicity, religion, race, group, gender, region, occupation and social status."²⁴² Now, all citizens had a right to vote without being discriminated against, and now all citizens also had a fair right to vote. The 2008 revision of the Election Act would be modified where article 55 of the law now "stipulates that at least one in every three candidates listed in a party's election list must be a woman." This was done in the hopes

²³⁸ Ibid., 268.

²³⁹ Ibid., 278.

²⁴⁰ Gayatri, 16.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² "Republic of Indonesia Law Number 23 of Year 2003," World Bank, July 2003, http://publicofficialsfinancialdisclosure.worldbank.org/sites/fdl/files/assets/law-library-files/Indonesia_President%20and%20VP%20Electoral%20Law_2003_en.pdf.

of women having a better chance at being elected. Although this seems like a good way to even out the odds, it also has the potential to garner resentment toward women who are forced into positions over men, and may not be seen as serious contenders to parliament. The quota requirement seems to have missed the mark, especially when women activists protested article 55 of the 2008 iteration of the election act.²⁴³ There could be another way to introduce women into parliament, instead of the forced requirements under the current rules.

Under Megawati, “the percentage of women in parliament increased, from 8.8 percent in 1999 to 11.3 percent in 2004” and since has made positive progress reaching 18.2 percent in 2009, which may have had something to do with the 2003 Election Act that she signed into existence.²⁴⁴ Yet, according to Clinton Bennett in *Muslim Women of Power*, after taking office Megawati was soon referred to as the “do nothing president.”²⁴⁵ This nickname was because of her ruling overall and does not specifically pertain to the women’s agenda. Her commitment to transition Indonesia to a functioning democracy was evident. In addition, she was able to influence the economy moving the country “from negative growth in 2000 to 4.8 percent in 2001,” although “unemployment rose from less than 4 percent to 9.1 percent during her presidency.”²⁴⁶

Megawati is not seen as a female president that pushed the woman’s agenda while in office. Like Aquino, Megawati was an important contributor during the transition to democracy in Indonesia, but also like Aquino, she is not known for making the women’s agenda a main priority during her time in office. Her decisions were based on the requirements set before her, as well as her ideals, which were closely linked with those of her father, Sukarno. This points toward the works of Deitrichs and Thompson, suggesting that she took the presidency based on dynastic succession, where the deaths of both her father and her first husband added to Megawati’s sense of morality and her sacrifices on

²⁴³ Gayatri, 17.

²⁴⁴ Bennett, 194.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 188.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 190.

behalf of the government.²⁴⁷ Her path to the presidency and performance within the role closely relates to that of Aquino.

G. GENDER EQUALITY TODAY IN INDONESIA

The 6th and 7th CEDAW report for Indonesia was released in 2012, listing recommendations for future success in eliminating the discrimination against women in Indonesia. Some of the major recommendations were as follows: Enhance women's awareness of rights, ensure the implementation of the convention throughout the country, especially at the provincial and district levels, repeal discriminatory laws against women, which are still in effect, in a timely manner, amend discrimination by-laws which restrict women's rights, provide resources for women to make advancements at the national level, withdraw the regulation that allows for 'female circumcision', raise awareness among religious groups and others that female genital mutilation is a violation of human rights, encourage women to report acts of violence, etc.²⁴⁸ The closing remarks recommend that "the state party [of Indonesia] consider seeking cooperation and technical assistance in the development and implementation of a comprehensive programme aimed at the implementation of the above recommendations and the convention as a whole."²⁴⁹ The report calls for an update in 2016, which has not yet been released at the time of this writing. The recommendations listed above portray the long-standing struggle Indonesia still faces to achieve equal rights and stop the discrimination against women which still occurs. Provided here are a few areas which remain a concern for gender equality in Indonesia.

²⁴⁷ Dagmar Hellmann-Rajanayagam, "The Pioneers: Durga Amma, the Only Man in the Cabinet," in *Dynasties and Female Political Leaders in Asia : Gender, Power and Pedigree*, ed. Claudia Derichs and Mark R. Thompson (Berlin: Lit, 2013), 29.

²⁴⁸ "Concluding Observations of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women: Indonesia," Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women, July 27, 2012, <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/docs/co/CEDAW-C-IDN-CO-6-7.pdf>.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

1. Economic Empowerment of Women

To understand the economic empowerment of women today, it is important to understand women's participation or lack thereof in the labor force. Statistics show women's participation in the labor force in 1996 at a ratio of 52.1 percent participation of females compared to 87.9 percent participation by males.²⁵⁰ In 2015, in the *Summary of Indonesia's Gender Analysis* conducted by Uzma S. Hoque, the labor force participation for females was 50.3 percent compared to males at 84.4 percent with an unemployment rate at 6.8 percent.²⁵¹ The disparity seen between males and females in the labor force has barely decreased over two decades. In addition, according to the 2016 Gender Gap Report, women make less than half the salary then men on average. According to the score card in Figure 7 for Indonesia, the average female salary in 2016 is \$5,691 compared to the male's average salary of \$8,223.²⁵² Women make over one third less in salary than men and there is no law mandating equal pay for men and women nor any law mandating the non-discrimination when hiring women.²⁵³

Figure 16 shows the Female Share of Employment by population. Across categories, the data suggests, women have a lower percentage of entering the labor force into higher paying jobs. From 2011 to 2016, data from the Global Gender Gap report shows that female participation at the legislative, senior officials, and managerial levels has evened out, with females at 47 percent and males at 53 percent.²⁵⁴ In addition, females have surpassed male workers in professional and technical fields, with females at

²⁵⁰ Lisa Cameron, "Women and the Labour Market During and after the Crisis," in *Women in Indonesia: Gender, Equity, and Development*, ed. Kathryn Robinson and Sharon Bessell (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2002).

²⁵¹ Uzma S. Hoque, "Summary of Indonesia's Gender Analysis: Adb Paper on Indonesia," Asian Development Bank, October 2015, <https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/177025/ino-paper-06-2015.pdf>.

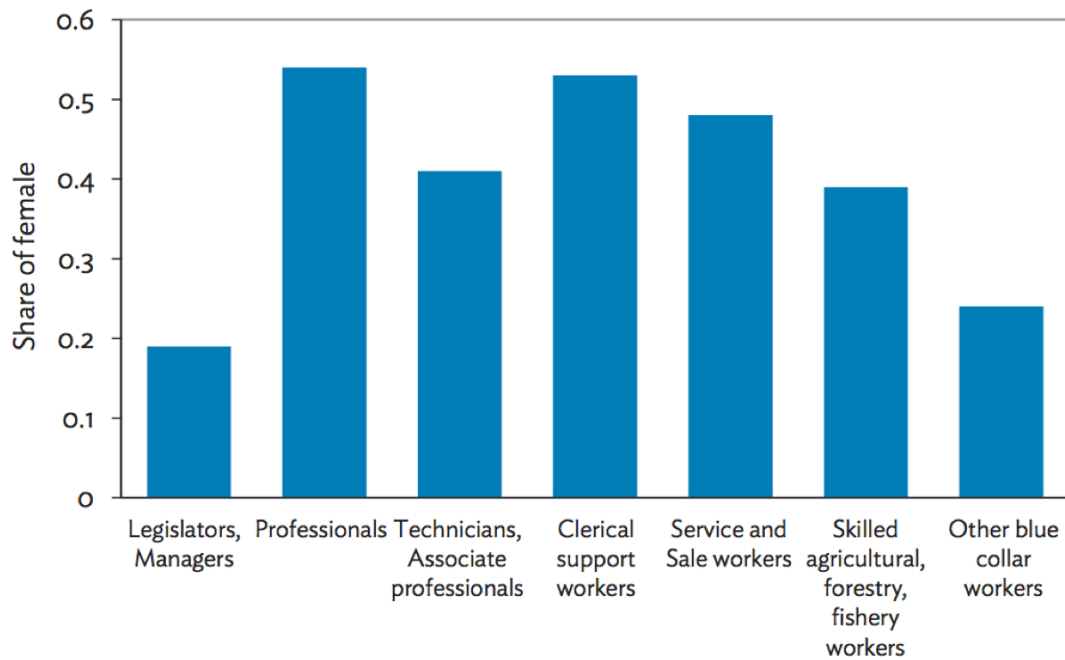
²⁵² "The Global Gender Gap Report 2016."

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ Source; Simone Schaner and Smita Das, "Female Labor Force Participation in Asia: Indonesia Country Study," Asian Development Bank, February 2016, <https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/180251/ewp-474.pdf>. Authors used 2011 Sakernas estimates from the author's calculations to provide data for Figure 16.

61 percent and males at 39 percent.²⁵⁵ Even though women are increasingly participating more in the workforce, their average pay continues to be lower than that of men.

Figure 16. Female Share of Employment by Occupation 2011²⁵⁶



Note: “Sample limited to individuals ages 20–70. “Other blue-collar workers” includes crafts and trades workers, plant and machine operators, assemblers, and elementary occupations.”²⁵⁷

Finally, Figure 17 shows economic leadership statistics for Indonesia in 2016. Both firms whose ownership includes women and firms whose top management includes women is 22.10 percent, which is comparative to the low rates of female political participation in parliament and local jobs.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁵ Source: Ibid. Authors used 2011 Sakernas estimates from the author’s calculations to provide data for Figure 16.

²⁵⁶ Source: Simone Schaner and Smita Das, Authors used 2011 Sakernas estimates from the author’s calculations to provide data for Figure 16.

²⁵⁷ Source: Ibid., Authors used 2011 Sakernas estimates from the author’s calculations to provide data for Figure 16.

²⁵⁸ “The Global Gender Gap Report 2016.”

Figure 17. Economic Leadership for Women in Indonesia 2016²⁵⁹

Economic leadership	female	male	value
Law mandates equal pay			no
Ability of women to rise to positions of leadership			*0.69
Boards of publicly traded companies	—	—	—
Firms whose ownership includes women			22.10
Firms whose top management includes women			22.10
R&D personnel	—	—	—

Note: Unless otherwise indicated by a superscripted note, “female” and “male” refers to percentage rates for the corresponding indicator: “value” refers to the female-over-male ratio. Percentage rates have been rounded for reporting purposes. Exact values have been used for calculating ratios and scores.²⁶⁰

2. Political Participation of Women

There has not been as steady increase in women in parliament in Indonesia even since the 2003 quota requirement of 30 percent inclusion of women on electoral lists. From 1995 (12.2 percent inclusion of women) to 2015 (17.1 percent inclusion of women), the ratio of women in parliament has increased by a factor of 1.5 in two decades.²⁶¹ The geographic makeup of Indonesia is important, and the 2009 election results can be broken down by region for female members of parliament by percentage. Figure 18 shows the overall percentages for 2009 and the percentage increase in each region since the 2004 elections. Since the 2004 elections, there has been positive progress to increase female members of parliament, five of the nine provinces with the largest delegation in parliament saw an increase in female representation since 2004 of 10 percent or less. Statistically, the numbers show small incremental changes over time, which does not show eager involvement by Indonesia toward the advancements of women.

²⁵⁹ “The Global Gender Gap Report 2016.”

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ Source: “Women in Parliament: 20 Years in Review,” Inter-Parliamentary Union, <http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/WIP20Y-en.pdf>. IPU used Puskapol 2010, in Ani Sucipto (2011: 48) for the data in Figure 18.

Figure 18. House of Regional Representatives (DPRD)—Indonesian Provinces with the Highest Number of MPs 2009²⁶²

No	Province	Total	No. of women	Percentage 2009	Percentage change from 2004
1	Maluku	45	14	31.11	27
2	West Java	100	25	25	16
3	DKI Jakarta	94	23	24.47	10
4	North Sulawesi	45	10	22.2	5
5	Central Java	100	21	21	6
6	East Kalimantan	53	11	20.75	5
7	North Sumatera	100	20	20	14
8	Yogyakarta	55	11	20	11
9	Gorontalo	45	9	20	6

Source: Puskapol 2010, in Ani Sucipto (2011:48)

The 2003 Election act requiring 30 percent of women eligible for elections has not led to the progression of women as members of parliament overall. There are both pros and cons to implementing a quota act, yet the approach has not proven to be effective over time in Indonesia. The implementation of other methods to increase the number of female members of parliament, should be considered.

3. Violence against Women

Violence against women in Indonesia is still a widespread problem throughout the country. According to the Asian Development Bank, “Reported cases of domestic violence more than doubled from 54,425 in 2008 to 143,586 in 2009,” which should be an immediate concern for the women’s agenda and advancement of women in Indonesia.²⁶³ The United Nations Population Fund (UNPF) conducted a survey in early 2017 and preliminary findings released in March revealed “two in every five Indonesian women—or just over 41 percent—have experienced at least one of the four types of violence (physical, sexual, emotional, or economic) in their lifetime.”²⁶⁴

²⁶² Gayatri, 23.

²⁶³ Hoque, 5.

²⁶⁴ “New Survey Shows Violence against Women Widespread in Indonesia,” United Nations Population Fund, May 10, 2017, <http://www.unfpa.org/news/new-survey-shows-violence-against-women-widespread-indonesia>.

After Suharto's ousting in 1998, President Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie (1998-1999) decreed the formation of Komnas Perempuan (National Commission on Violence Against Women) to address the basic human rights of women in Indonesia: "KP develops concepts, standards, instruments and mechanisms intended to prevent, handle, and abolish all forms of violence against women [in Indonesia]." ²⁶⁵ It is important to know that there is a system in place that females in Indonesia can use to report violence against them, but this is just the first step. The CEDAW 2012 report lists recommendations to combat violence against women in Indonesia. Included in these recommendations were for the state party to collect data on the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim, encourage women and children to report acts of violence in an effort to raise awareness, and prosecute all acts of domestic and sexual violence against women and girls. ²⁶⁶ The evidence and statistical analysis shows that violence against women in Indonesia is still a problem, and reducing this violence could be a major step in the advancement of women.

Indonesia ranks in the 60th percentile on the 2016 Global Gender Gap Report, even though it has made some progress to increase gender equality in the country, and promote the women's agenda. Starting the women's movement in the 1950s and watching the group GERWANI to grow to over one million participants in less than a decade, shows how important this movement was for women. The almost thirty-year suppression of the women's movement in 1965 after the attempted coup against Sukarno, which lasted almost thirty years was detrimental to women's equality and advancements in the women's agenda. Suharto's implementation of state ibuisim to show women how to be "dutiful wives to their husband and country" further suppressed this movement. Once Suharto resigned, and SIP rejuvenated the women's movement in 1998, there was more progress. Megawati becoming the first female president of Indonesia in 2000 shows another case where women's equality and advancements in the women's agenda was not

²⁶⁵ "Komnas Perempuan (National Commission on Violence against Women)," Women Living Under Muslim Laws (WLUML), September 2017, <http://www.wluml.org/contact/wrrc/content/komnas-perempuan-national-commission-violence-against-women>.

²⁶⁶ "Concluding Observations of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women: Indonesia," 5.

a main priority for her. She did sign the 2003 Election Act to promote women in politics, but even women's groups have protested these forced rules.

Indonesia has seen an increase in jobs for women across the spectrum as seen in Figure 16, although the wage disparity between men and women still remains. This could be because there are women in the workforce but they are in lower wage jobs across the board. The Election Act of 2003, which Megawati signed into implementation has been successful in promoting and increasing women's participation in politics, but the act forces women into elections and, in the future, it might be better if they wanted to run and were put on the ballot fairly instead of to meet the requirements of the election act. Socially, women have been given freedoms to create women's groups and fight for women's rights which is a step in the right direction and if they continue to bring awareness to issues then progress will continue. The successes and improvements for women's rights in Indonesia are similar to the Philippines, and are in huge part because of the women's movement.

IV. CONCLUSION

This thesis has presented a comparative study of how three important factors—social, political, and economic inclusion—affect gender equality and vice versa in the Philippines and Indonesia. The two countries share many similarities on this issue: the women’s movements in the two countries began within a decade of each other, both countries have a dispersed land geography, and the first female presidents of both countries were seen as moral figures that could facilitate the transition to working democracy. Yet there are also differences in terms of majority religion and population size in the two countries, along with the fact that the first female president in the Philippines came into power on a nonviolent revolution compared to the violent protests that brought the first female president in Indonesia to power. The disparity between these two countries on the 2016 Global Gender Gap report serves as the analytical basis for this comparison, with the Philippines ranking in the top five percent, much higher on the global gender equality scale than other countries in Southeast Asia, and Indonesia ranking in the lower half at 61 percent. This conclusion first highlights several explanations for these contrasting outcomes then turns to discussing successful policies that work and could be implemented to improve gender equality in developing countries cross nationally.

This thesis also focused on how female heads of state in the Philippines and Indonesia were involved in efforts to improve the women’s agenda, if at all. All three female presidents—Aquino, Arroyo, and Megawati—came from wealthy elite families with varying degrees of education and were introduced to high level politics at a relatively young age. During their childhoods, Arroyo’s and Megawati’s fathers were prior presidents of their countries, while Aquino was influenced by her husband Ninoy. Aquino, because of the assassination of her husband Ninoy (1983), and Megawati, because of the death of her father and first husband in the same year (1970), benefitted from national sympathies and both served as moral figures in the face of corruption. Becoming the face of a revolution is no easy task, and in the “Shakespearean sense, power was thrust upon them;” nevertheless, both women assumed their roles in politics,

Aquino after some prompting, to help their countries transition into working democracies.²⁶⁷

A. MAIN FINDINGS

The Philippines has been successful at achieving a higher degree of gender equality over other Asian countries, and much of the world for many reasons. This thesis points to a main reason as the civil unrest as evidenced by the anti-Marcos movement as a major factor. Women's groups began forming prior to Marcos assuming the presidency, but the enactment of Martial Law led to a suppression of human rights for all citizens, which encouraged the women's movement to thrive underground and strengthen in order to fight for human rights. Aquino becoming the face of the revolution further encouraged the participation of women during the protests. Yet, following the people's revolution and Aquino's ascension to president, her actions and policy choices illuminated that the advancement of women in the Philippines was not one of her main priorities. At times, Aquino's loyalty to the Catholic Church surpassed her support of the women's movement, and even provoked protests from women's groups, such as when she nearly signed an executive order issued by the Church to stop providing contraceptives to women.²⁶⁸ Overall, this thesis finds that the women's movement contributed to the continued determination of women to promote the women's agenda, rather than being the outcome of the direct involvement of Aquino or Arroyo as female presidents.

While Filipino women have statistically surpassed males in literacy rate, life expectancy and tertiary education in the Philippines, the economic, political, and social inclusion of women does not show similar results. In 2016, the average female salary was \$5,691.34 compared to the average male salary of \$8,222.32.²⁶⁹ In the labor force, Female participation accounts reaches 52.27 percent whereas male participation in the labor forces reaches 80.70 percent.²⁷⁰ In the 2016 national parliament elections, Filipino

²⁶⁷ Thompson, 155.

²⁶⁸ Montecinos, 212–13.

²⁶⁹ "The Global Gender Gap Report 2016."

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

women hold 87 of the 292 seats accounting for 29.8 percent, which is less than half of the seats.²⁷¹ These disparities show that political inclusion in the Philippines is greater than economic inclusion overall, and focusing on the advancements of women in parliament is necessary for future progress.

Indonesia's women's movement and fight for gender equality prospered in the 1950s, also started as a product of civil unrest during the fight for independence from Dutch colonization and Japanese Occupation during WWII. The women's movement continued to gain support and the main group, Gerwani, was over one million strong in the late 1950s. This forward progress did not last, however: 1965, after an attempted coup by the PKI against Sukarno, the Gerwani women's group was disbanded by the government. The women's movement would remain suppressed over the next three decades under Suharto's idea of state ibuisism, which emphasized the woman's familial duties and nurturing role over her political and economic empowerment, and would not pick up again until his resignation in 1998. Megawati became the face of a violent revolution in Indonesia, even though she remained noticeably absent during deadly protests. In contrast, her ascension to first female president of Indonesia, similar to Aquino, did not show policy support of the women's agenda during her presidency. Her support of gender equality was seen to be minimal e.g., her support for the 2003 Election Act that required 30 percent of elected officials to parliament to be women, which women's groups protested because it was not seen as a positive enough advancement of the women's agenda. The suppression of the Indonesian women's movement in 1965 until 1998 has been detrimental for the women's agenda, and is one major reason why Indonesia ranks lower on the Global Gender Gap report. It is because they have had less time to evolve as they did not start forming again until 1998.

Like Filipino women, Indonesian women are nearly equal or have surpassed males in education, literacy rates, and life expectancy. But statistical data for Indonesian women's political, economic, and social inclusion is even more skewed than that in the Philippines. In 2016, the average female salary was \$6,843.67 compared to the average

²⁷¹ "World Classification."

male salary of \$14,139.08.²⁷² In the labor force, female participation accounts reaches 52.73 percent, very similar to Filipino women, whereas male participation in the labor forces reaches 85.93 percent.²⁷³ In the 2016 national parliament elections, Indonesian women hold 95 of the 555 seats accounting for only 17.1.²⁷⁴ Compared to the Philippines, women in Indonesia experience greater economic inclusion, rather than political inclusion.

Aquino and Megawati, both inherited the chore of aiding the transition of a country from authoritarian rule to a functional democracy during their presidencies. This required attention to restructuring the economy and constitutional reform in both cases. Arroyo similarly focused on economic reform. For all three female presidents, it appears that the women's agenda was prioritized lower on the list than other pressing national matters. There is a long way to go in both of these countries and across the globe, but gaining some insight, and analyzing what worked best in the Philippines and Indonesia can provide future policy recommendations for developing countries.

B. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Three policy recommendations that could potentially contribute to improvements in gender equality are introduced here. First, the release of the 2009 Magna Carta for Women in the Philippines under Arroyo provided a policy template for the betterment of women. The framework of this document spends much time laying out specific tasks for governmental agencies to aid in this process, although it was hard to deduce whether these tasks are being implemented and provide a positive impact on the gender equality of the country. In order to ensure the guidelines of this policy are being followed the first recommendation would be to implement a human resources task force to analyze what effect this policy has played in the advancement of women's rights since its implementation in 2009. If this policy proves to be beneficial then it is something that could be implemented in other countries in the future.

²⁷² "The Global Gender Gap Report 2016."

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ "World Classification."

One overarching theme of the comparative analysis in this thesis is that there are not enough resources and opportunities provided to women both economically and politically to properly promote the advancements of women in these areas. The second policy recommendation is to fix this problem by providing women access to both resources and opportunities. This could start with a scholarship program implemented by the government designed for women who are interested in a political career, or other jobs normally held by men. Since both the Philippines and Indonesia are archipelagos, this could be implemented on islands where these scholarships make the most sense, in an effort to be far-reaching and effective. To provide resources for women in these countries, a website could be designed for the betterment of women, and maintained by the government to provide information, statistical data, and points of contact for questions.

The third policy recommendation is to implement a policy for equal pay for men and women in all jobs across the board. Some of the disparity occurs because women work in jobs that overall provide lower incomes, but there are no policies that require women to receive the same pay as men. Statistics in 2016 indicate that in the Philippines only 29.90 percent of females are in top management positions, and in Indonesia it is 22.10 percent.²⁷⁵ Ensuring that salaries are equal for men and women who are working in the same job may positively impact the number of women who work in top managerial positions, which would be a positive advancement for the women's agenda.

C. IMPLICATIONS

Two further implications emerge from this thesis. First, as discussed in the literature review, Thompson in *Dynasties and Female Political Leaders in Asia* observes how female leaders in Asia are placed into positions of power to continue a dynasty or patriarchy to keep the family name in a position of power. This has proven successful for female leaders in Asia where there have been 14 female heads of state to date.²⁷⁶ According to Derichs and Thompson, female leaders are seen as weak and are supported

²⁷⁵ "The Global Gender Gap Report 2016."

²⁷⁶ Thompson, 11.

by political leaders with the intention of stripping authority from them once they are in office.²⁷⁷ This could not be more evident than the seven coup attempts during Aquino's presidency. This idea suggests that female political leaders are not voted into office because there is high gender equality in the country, rather that women are voted into office because they are perceived as weak and power can be taken from them easily.

Second, a high ranking on the Global Gender Report may portray a country as having made significant advancement's in gender equality in that particular country, but that does not mean that women are seen as fully equal within that country. Although the Philippines is ranked in the top 5 percent, there is still much to be done to promote the women's agenda, such as achieving equal pay in the labor force, equal numbers in political representation, and a steady decline in violence against women.

Listed here are a few factors, some of which were only minimally touched upon in this thesis, which would contribute greatly to the overall discussion and touch on areas ripe for future analysis future analysis. The first and most important additional factor is religion. The differences in the majority religion practiced between these two countries—Catholicism in the Philippines and Islam in Indonesia—almost certainly impact the women's agenda. Religious preference can affect gender equality by what is seen as accepted by the Catholic Church in the Philippines and how women are viewed and treated under Islam in Indonesia. This topic could easily be a stand-alone thesis by itself. A second factor is colonialism. This thesis barely touches on the impacts of colonialization of the Philippines by the Spanish followed by the United States, and also colonialization by Dutch, Portuguese, and the British in Indonesia. These invasions have shaped future outcomes in each country, respectively, and are the basis for cultural difference between the two countries. An in-depth study of how colonialization shaped each country would further the understanding about the creation and implementation of the women's movement in each country.

A third factor is the patterns of the migration of women today. In recent years the ability for humans to migrate to different countries has become more accessible, which

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

adds another complex layer to the understanding of gender equality in a country. In 2002, the annual outflow of migrant females from the Philippines was 453,000 and from Indonesia it was 363,000.²⁷⁸ Understanding the patterns of female migrants and their contributions to the economies of specific countries could be important in understanding gender equality in their home countries. A fourth factor is violence against women and human trafficking. This topic is touched briefly in the country case study chapters. There has been much data collected on violence against women in both of these countries, and understanding the way men treat women in a country and how the culture evolves because of this can correlate to how the advancements of the women's agenda has been supported or suppressed.

Gender equality is important globally. As stated in the literature review, economic development and women's rights are mutually enforcing trends. Studies reveal that there is a strong correlative trend between female empowerment and increased economic development.²⁷⁹ Women's movements are important to this process. Grassroots movements have the potential to become the catalyst needed to be heard at the national level. The research for this thesis indicates that analyzing the economic, political, and social factors leading to advancements or obstacles to gender equality in a country can help illuminate how much more needs to be done.

²⁷⁸ Oishi, 5.

²⁷⁹ Firebaugh, 1944.

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

LIST OF REFERENCES

- Asian Development Bank. "Gender Equality in the Labor Market in the Philippines." 2013. <https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/31194/gender-equality-labor-market-philippines.pdf>.
- Aquino, Belinda A. "Filipino Women and Political Engagement." *Review of Women's Studies* 4, no. 1 (1994): 32–53.
- Aquino, Corazon Cojuangco. *Democracy by the Ways of Democracy: Speeches of President Corazon C. Aquino, Official Visit to the United States of America September*. Manila: s. n, 1986.
- Bennett, Clinton. *Muslim Women of Power: Gender, Politics, and Culture in Islam*. New York: Continuum, 2010.
- Borlaza, Gregorio C., and Carolina G. Hernandez. "Philippines." Encyclopedia Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Philippines>.
- Boyce, James K., and Philippine Institute for Development Studies. *The Political Economy of External Indebtedness: A Case Study of the Philippines*. Pids Monograph Series. Manila: Philippine Institute for Development Studies, 1990.
- Brands, H. W. *Bound to Empire: The United States and the Philippines*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Buss, Claude Albert. "Cory Aquino and the People of the Philippines." *The Portable Stanford*. Stanford, CA: Stanford Alumni Association, 1987.
- Cameron, Lisa. "Women and the Labour Market During and after the Crisis." In *Women in Indonesia: Gender, Equity, and Development*, edited by Kathryn Robinson and Sharon Bessell, 144-157. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2002.
- Center for Reproductive Rights. "Philippines Must Act on Magna Carta of Women." March 25, 2010. <https://www.reproductiverights.org/feature/philippines-must-act-on-magna-carta-of-women>.
- Central Intelligence Agency. "The World Factbook. East and Southeast Asia: Indonesia." September 8, 2017. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/resources/the-world-factbook/geos/id.html>.
- . "The World factbook. East and Southeast Asia: Philippines." September 8, 2017. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/resources/the-world-factbook/geos/rp.html>.

- Concluding Observations of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women: Indonesia. "Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women." July 27, 2012.
<http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/docs/co/CEDAW-C-IDN-CO-6-7.pdf>.
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. "Second and Third Reports of State Parties: Indonesia." February 12, 1997.
<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/reports.htm>.
- CRALAW. "The Local Government Code of the Philippines: Chan Robles Virtual Law Library." July 19, 1998.
<http://www.chanrobles.com/localgov.htm#.WczTlkyZPMU>.
- . "Philippine Treaties: Treaty of General Relations Between the Republic of the Philippines and the United States of America." May 24, 2017.
<http://www.chanrobles.com/rpustreatyofgeneralrelations.htm#.Wc576WAkuM8>.
- Cribb, Robert, and Colin Brown. *Modern Indonesia: A History since 1945*. New York: Longman Group Limited, 1995.
- Dian, Kuswandini. Europe Solidaire Sans Frontieres. "The Rise and Fall of Indonesia's Women's Movement." April 21, 2010. <http://www.europe-solidaire.org/spip.php?article17226>.
- Division for the Advancement of Women: Department of Economic and Social Affairs. "The United Nations Commission on the Status of Women: 60 Years of Work for Equality, Development and Peace." September 27, 2017.
<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/CSW60YRS/index.htm>.
- Doepke, Matthias., Michele Tertilt, and Alessandra Voena. "The Economics and Politics of Women's Rights." *Annual Review of Economics* 4, no. 1 (2012): 339–372.
- Dohner, Robert S., Jr., and Ponciano Intal. "The Aquino Government and Prospects for the Economy." In *Developing Country Debt and Economic Performance, Volume 3: Case Studies—Indonesia, Korea, Philippines, Turkey*, edited by Jeffery D. Sachs and Susan M. Collins. 558–593. Illinois: University of Chicago, 1989.
- . "External Debt and Debt Management." In *Developing Country Debt and Economic Performance, Volume 3: Case Studies—Indonesia, Korea, Philippines, Turkey*, edited by Jeffery D. Sachs and Susan M. Collins, 504–523. Illinois: University of Chicago, 1989.
- Dorius, Shawn F., and Glenn Firebaugh. "Trends in Global Gender Inequality." *Social Forces* 88, no. 5 (July 2010): 1941–1968.

- Doxey, Monika S.W. "The 'Motherhood' Strategy of Indonesia's Suara Ibu Peduli." In *Building Feminist Movements and Organizations: Global Perspectives*, edited by Noel D. Payne, Lydia Alpizer Duran, and Anahi Russo, 209-218. New York: NY: Association of Women's Rights in Development (AWID), 2007.
- Encyclopedia.com. "Macapagal-Arroyo, Gloria." 2004.
<http://www.encyclopedia.com/people/history/philippines-history-biographies/gloria-macapagal-arroyo>.
- Fleschenberg, Andrea. "Asian's Women Politicians at the Top: Roaring Tigresses or Tame Kittens?." In *Women's Political Participation and Representation in Asia: Obstacles and Challenges*, edited by Kazuki Iwanaga, 23–54. Copenhagen Denmark: NIAS- Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, 2008.
- Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. "Brief History of Filipino Women's Struggle for Participation in Politics." September 27, 2017. <http://library.fes.de/fulltext/iez/01109004.htm>.
- Geiger, Abigail and Lauren Kent. Pew Research Center. "Number of Women Leaders around the World Has Grown, but They're Still a Small Group." March 8, 2017.
<http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/03/08/women-leaders-around-the-world/>.
- Gerlach, Ricarda. "'Mega' Expectations: Indonesia's Democratic Transition and First Female President." In *Dynasties and Female Political Leaders in Asia: Gender, Power and Pedigree*, edited by Claudia Derichs and Mark R. Thompson, 247–290. Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2013.
- Hellmann-Rajanayagam, Dagmar. "The Pioneers: Durga Amma, the Only Man in the Cabinet." In *Dynasties and Female Political Leaders in Asia: Gender, Power and Pedigree*, edited by Claudia Derichs and Mark R. Thompson, 27–62. Berlin: LIT, 2013.
- Hoque, Uzma S. Asian Development Bank. "Summary of Indonesia's Gender Analysis: Asian Development Bank Paper on Indonesia." October 2015.
<https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/177025/ino-paper-06-2015.pdf>.
- Hutchcroft, Paul. "After the Fall: Prospects for Political and Institutional Reform in Post-Crisis Thailand and the Philippines." *Government and Opposition* 34, no. 4 (October 1999): 473–497.
- International Communist Current. "A History of Trade Union in the Philippines." March 10, 2014. <http://en.internationalism.org/internationalreview/201403/9534/history-trade-unionism-philippines>.
- Inter-Parliamentary Union. "Women in Parliament: 20 Years in Review." 2014.
<http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/WIP20Y-en.pdf>.

- . “World Classification.” August 1, 2017. <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>.
- Klitgaard, Robert E. *Martial Law in the Philippines*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 1972.
- Ledesma, Coni K. National Democratic Front of the Philippines: International Information Office. “Women in Revolution: Maria Lorena Barros and Makibaka.” March 23, 2015. <https://www.ndfp.org/women-in-revolution-maria-lorena-barros-and-makibaka/>.
- Lozada, Rebecca E. *Women Strategizing Justice : Women’s Resource Book on Gender Justice*. Quezon City, Philippines: Philippine Coalition for the International Criminal Court, 2008.
- MacIntyre, Andrew. “Indonesia.” In *Democracy, Governance, and Economic Performance: East and Southeast Asia*, edited by Ian Marsh, Jean Blondel and Takashi Inoguchi, 261-286. New York: NY. United Nations University Press, 1999.
- Marlita, Tita, and Marilyn Porter. “Feminism in Indonesia.” In *Women’s Studies in Asia Series: Indonesian Women in a Changing Society*, edited by Kristi Poerwandari, 41–74. Seoul, Korea: Ewha Womans University Press, May 18, 2005.
- Martyn, Elizabeth. *The Women’s Movement in Post-Colonial Indonesia: Gender and Nation in a New Democracy*. ASAA Women in Asia Series. New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Medland, Dina. Forbes. “Today’s Gender Reality in Statistics, or Making Leadership Attractive to Women.” March 7, 2016. <https://www.forbes.com/forbes/welcome/?toURL=https://www.forbes.com/sites/dinamedland/2016/03/07/todays-gender-reality-in-statistics-or-making-leadership-attractive-to-women/&refURL=https://www.google.com/&referrer=https://www.google.com/>.
- Mendoza, Diana J., Maria Elissa, and Jayme Lao. “Corazon Aquino: The Reluctant First Female President of the Philippines. In *Women Presidents and Prime Ministers in Post-Transition Democracies*. First Edition. New York, NY: Springer Berlin Heidelberg, 2017. 205–220.
- Merriam-Webster Dictionary. “Politics.” July 14, 2017, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/politics>.
- Milanović, Branko. *Worlds Apart : Measuring International and Global Inequality*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005.

- Montecinos, Veronica. *“Women Presidents and Prime Ministers in Post-Transition Democracies.”* Palgrave Studies in Political Leadership, 1st edition. New York, NY: Springer Berlin Heidelberg, 2017.
- United Nations Population Fund. “New Survey Shows Violence against Women Widespread in Indonesia.” May 10, 2017. <http://www.unfpa.org/news/new-survey-shows-violence-against-women-widespread-indonesia>.
- Parawansa, Khofifah Indar. “Institution Building: An Effort to Improve Indonesian Women’s Role and Status.” In *Women in Indonesia: Gender, Equity, and Development*, edited by Kathryn May Robinson and Sharon Bessell, 68–77. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2002.
- Philippine Commission on Women. “Anti-Trafficking in Persons Act of 2003.” December 2003. <http://www.pcw.gov.ph/sites/default/files/documents/resources/ra-9208-trafficking-irr.pdf>.
- Philippine Commission on Women: National Machinery for Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment. September 27, 2017. “Philippine Participation to Cedaw.” <http://pcw.gov.ph/international-commitments/cedaw/philippine-participation>.
- . “President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo’s Message for the 2010 Women’s Month Celebration.” March 11, 2010. <http://www.pcw.gov.ph/article/president-gloria-macapagal-arroyos-message-2010-womens-month-celebration>.
- Philippine Statistics Authority. “2016 Statistical Handbook on Women and Men in the Philippines.” December 2016. <https://psa.gov.ph/sites/default/files/kmcd/WAM%20Women%20and%20Men%20Handbook%20in%20the%20Philippines%202016.%20Final.pdf>
- Porter, Marilyn. “Feminism Is a Good Woman: Reflections on the Use of Ideas in the Women’s Movement in Indonesia.” *Asian Journal of Women’s Studies* 9, no. 7 (May 31, 2003): 1–15.
- “Proportion of Seats Held by Women in National Parliaments (%).” The World Bank, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SG.GEN.PARL.ZS?end=2016&locations=ID-PH&start=2000>.
- Ramage, Douglas E. *Politics in Indonesia : Democracy, Islam, and the Ideology of Tolerance*. Politics in Asia Series. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- “Ratification of 18 International Human Rights Treaties.” United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner. 2014. <http://indicators.ohchr.org/>.

- “Republic Act No. 9710 the Magna Carta of Women: Implementing Rules and Regulations.” Office of the President Philippine Commission on Women. April 2010. http://pcw.gov.ph/sites/default/files/documents/laws/republic_act_9710.pdf.
- “Republic of Indonesia Law Number 23 of Year 2003.” World Bank. July 2003. http://publicofficialsfinancialdisclosure.worldbank.org/sites/fdl/files/assets/law-library-files/Indonesia_President_and_VP_Electoral_Law_2003_en.pdf.
- “Resolutions Adopted on Reports of the Third Committee.” United Nations Treaty Collection. December 1952. https://treaties.un.org/doc/source/docs/A_RES_640_VII-E.pdf.
- Ringuet, Daniel Joseph, and Elsa Estrada. “Understanding the Philippines’ Economy and Politics since the Return of Democracy in 1986.” *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 25, no. 2 (August 2003): 233-250.
- Robinson, Kathryn. *Gender, Islam, and Democracy in Indonesia*. New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Roces, Mina. *Women, Power, and Kinship Politics: Female Power in Post-War Philippines*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998.
- . *Women’s Movements and the Filipina, 1986–2008*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2012.
- Roces, Mina, and Louise P. Edwards. *Women’s Movements in Asia: Feminisms and Transnational Activism*. NY: Routledge, 2010.
- Schaner, Simone, and Smita Das. Asian Development Bank. “Female Labor Force Participation in Asia: Indonesia Country Study.” February 2016. <https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/180251/ewp-474.pdf>.
- Suryakusuma, Julia I. *State Ibuism : The Social Construction of Womanhood in New Order Indonesia*. Depok, West Java, Indonesia: Komunitas Bambu, 2011.
- Thompson, Mark R. “Presidents and the ‘People Power’ in the Philippines: Corazon C. Aquino and Gloria Macapagal Arroyo.” In *Dynasties and Female Political Leaders in Asia: Gender, Power and Pedigree*, edited by Claudia Derichs and Mark R. Thompson, 151–190. Berlin: LIT, 2013.
- Thompson, Mark R., and Claudia Derichs. “Introduction.” In *Dynasties and Female Political Leaders in Asia: Gender, Power and Pedigree*, edited by Claudia Derichs and Mark R. Thompson, 11–26. Berlin: LIT, 2013.
- Trading Economics. “Philippines Government Budget.” July 15, 2017. <https://tradingeconomics.com/philippines/government-budget>.

- Tzannatos, Zafiris. "Women and Labor Market Changes in the Global Economy: Growth Helps, Inequalities Hurt and Public Policy Matters." *World Development* 27, no. 3. (March 1999): 1–69.
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. "Education." September 2017.
<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/educationbuilding-blocks/literacy/resources/statistics>.
- The United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner. "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women." December 18, 1979. <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CEDAW.aspx>.
- . "View the Ratification Status by Country or by Treaty." September 27, 2017.
http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/TreatyBodyExternal/Treaty.aspx?CountryID=137&Lang=EN.
- University of Minnesota: Human Rights Library. "The 1987 Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines." n. d.
<http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/research/Philippines/PHILIPPINECONSTITUTION.pdf>.
- U.S. Department of State. "Trafficking in Persons Report June 2017." June 2017.
<https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/271339.pdf>.
- U.S. Embassy in the Philippines. "Philippines Upgraded to Tier 1 in 2016 Us State Department Trafficking in Persons Report." July 1, 2016.
<https://ph.usembassy.gov/philippines-upgraded-tier-1-2016-us-state-department-trafficking-persons-report/>.
- Vatikiotis, Michael R. J. *Indonesian Politics under Suharto: The Rise and Fall of the New Order*. Third edition. New York, NY: Routledge, 1993.
- Velasco, Renato S. "The Philippines." In *Democracy, Governance, and Economic Performance: East and Southeast Asia*. edited by Ian Marsh, Jean Blondel and Takashi Inoguchi, 167-202. New York, NY: United Nations University Press, 1999.
- Vermonte, Phillips Jusario, and Irine H. Gayatri. USAID and Kemitraan Partnership. "The Increased Number of Female Members of Parliament: Identifying Its Origins and Obstacles in Indonesia, the Philippines and Timor-Lest." 2014.
http://iknowpolitics.org/sites/default/files/ikat_us_party_recruitment_en_final.pdf.

- Veneracion-Rallonza, Lourdes. "Women and the Democracy Project: A Feminist Take on Women's Political Participation in the Philippines." In *Women's Political Participation and Representation in Asia: Obstacles and Challenges*, edited by Kazuki Iwanaga, 210–252. Copenhagen Denmark: NIAS- Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, 2008.
- Weatherbee, Donald E. "Indonesia in 1984: Pacasila, Politics, and Power." *Asian Survey* 25, no. 2. (1985): 187–197.
- Wieringa, Askia. "The Birth of the New Order State in Indonesia: Sexual Politics and Nationalism." *Journal of Women's History* 15, no. 1 (2003): 70–91.
- Women Living Under Muslim Laws (WLUML). "Komnas Perempuan (National Commission on Violence against Women)." September 27, 2017. <http://www.wluml.org/contact/wrrc/content/komnas-perempuan-national-commission-violence-against-women>.
- The World Bank. "Databank World Development Indicators." July 15, 2017, <http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=2&series=NY.GDP.MKTP.CD&country=PHL>.
- . "Proportion of Seats Held by Women in National Parliaments (%) Data." September 27, 2017. <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SG.GEN.PARL.ZS>.
- . "Social Inclusion. September 7, 2017. <http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/socialdevelopment/brief/social-inclusion>.
- World Economic Forum. The Global Gender Gap Report 2016. September 27, 2017. <https://www.weforum.org/reports/the-global-gender-gap-report-2016>.
- . "Indonesia." December 7, 2016, <http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2016/economies/#economy=IDN>.
- . "Our Mission." September 27, 2017. <https://www.weforum.org/about/world-economic-forum>.
- . "Philippines." December 7, 2016. <http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2016/economies/#economy=PHL>.
- Yu, Samuel C. K. "Political Reforms in the Philippines: Challenges Ahead." *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 27, no. 2 (August 2005): 217–235.

INITIAL DISTRIBUTION LIST

1. Defense Technical Information Center
Ft. Belvoir, Virginia
2. Dudley Knox Library
Naval Postgraduate School
Monterey, California